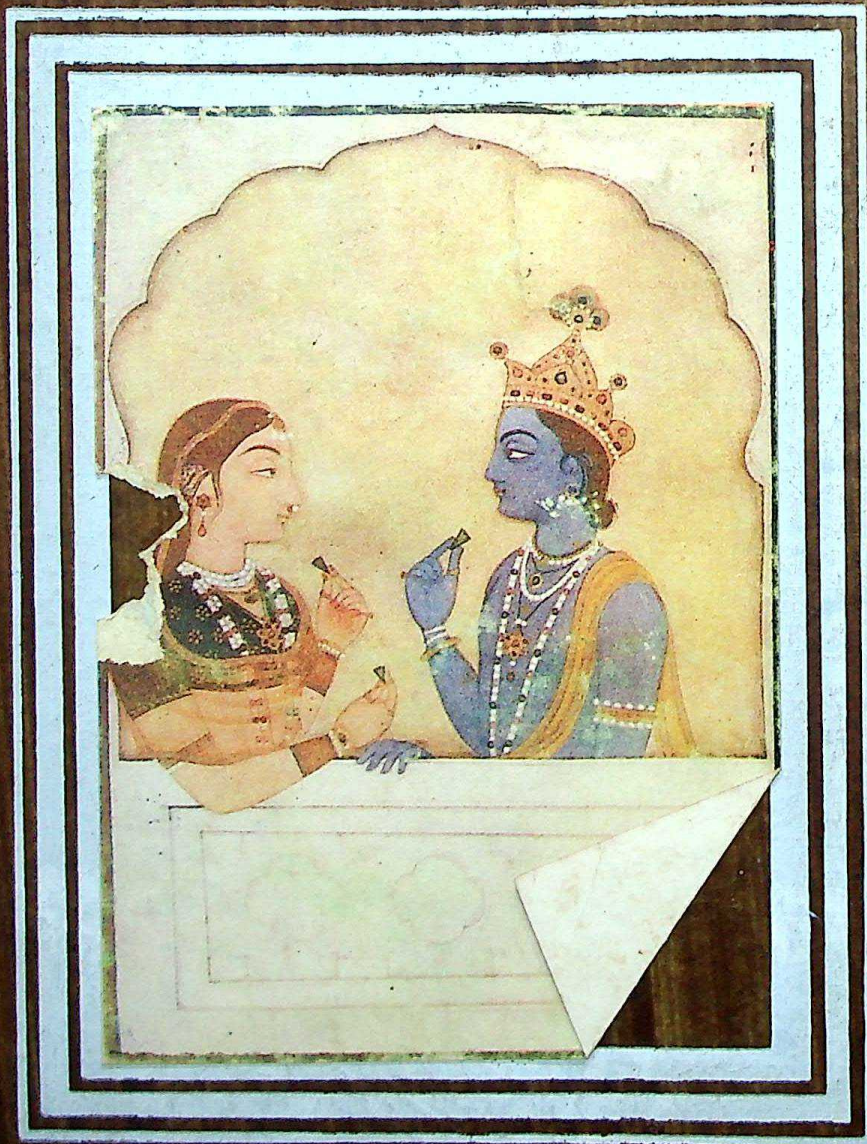


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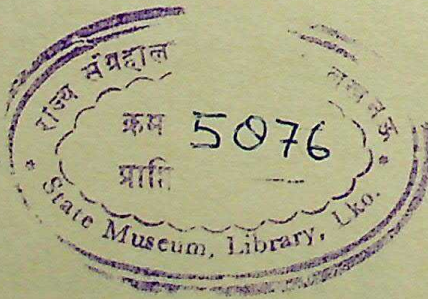
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EDITOR'S NOTE.

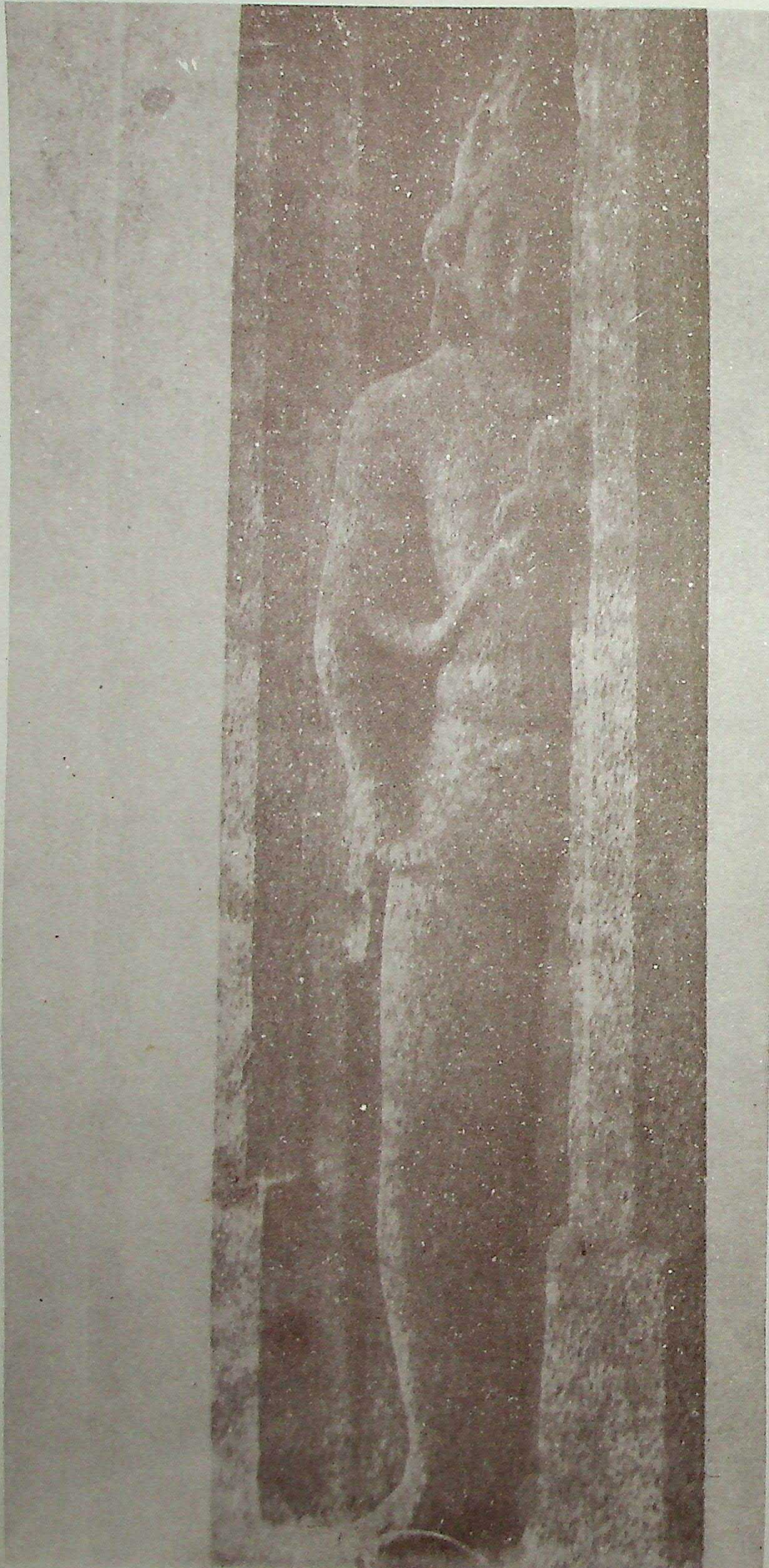
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I.—A PANEL FROM ARJUNA'S RATHA, MAMALLAPURAM.

TO one unfamiliar with the history of Indian Sculpture and the philosophic and religious thoughts in which it has its roots and out of which it has grown and developed, the many-headed and many-handed forms of Indian images, specially of the Brahmanical School, offer some initial difficulty to the understanding of the expression of the Indian genius in Indian Art. And it has been said long preparations are necessary to struggle through the peculiar iconographic conventions in order to approach the point of view of the artist and to estimate the quality of his achievement in realising the ideas that are incarnated in forms repellent to many Western critics. The stone panel from the so-called Arjuna's Ratha at Mahāvalipuram (Māmāllapuram) about 30 miles south of Madras, which we reproduce here as a frontispiece; will, it is claimed, demonstrate the fact that there are many examples of Indian Art which are not necessarily alien or inaccessible to persons unable to undergo a "strenuous preparation" for an approach to a profound study of the subject. The example, though easily accessible to a sympathetic understanding of non-Indian students, is none the less a characteristically Indian figure in its conception and execution, and belongs to an epoch which all schools of critics have now agreed to characterise as one of the best periods of Indian Art. The monolithic temples (Rathas) at the Seven Pagodas (Mahāvalipuram), at one time believed to have been executed by the Chinese (!), were proved by E. Hultzsch, by his reading of the inscriptions on the temples, as having been excavated under the patronage of the Pallava princes of the Simha-Vishnu dynasty, the founder of which is supposed to have lived about 590 A.D. Thanks to the researches of Monsieur Jouveau-Dubreuil, recently, an attempt has been made to recover a complete and accurate chronology of the princes of the Pallava dynasty from the famous Vishnugopa, the adversary of Samudra Gupta (338 A.D.) and to allocate the monuments to the "periods" of the successive princes. Accord-

ing to this chronology, it is highly probable that the temples of the Seven Pagodas were carved during the reign of the two princes Narasimha Varman I (about 625-650) and Paramesvara Varman I (about 655-690). The so-called Arjuna's Ratha from which our panel is taken belongs to what has been called, "the style of Māmālla" ("Mahāmalla," Great Hero), which was the surname of Narasimha Varman who is also supposed to have given the locality its name,—Māmāllapuram—the "City of the Heroes," vulgarly called Mahāvalipuram. The art of the Pallavas, though it blossomed forth in the surprising vitality of a new form, is undoubtedly related to the sculptures and architecture of the Ellora Caves. Anyhow the magnificent productions of the epoch of the Pallavas carry down the history of Indian Sculpture in an unbroken continuity from its earliest days, always keeping to that splendid idealism of form which the earlier schools had long ago set as their goal. In the leonine type of the figure, here illustrated, with a broad shoulder and an attenuated waist, one can hardly recognise the descendant of earliest forms common in Buddhist Art. The suppression of all smaller anatomical particulars has helped to secure an extreme simplicity of form and contour. The artist who carved this relief was faithfully carrying out and was true to the traditional aim of his predecessors in the craft to idealise and generalise human anatomy to the essentials of major forms, ignoring trivial details and evolving a power of synthetic presentation of form which is denied to those who work from a posing model and which comes spontaneously to those cultivating a memory of the essentials of forms. To one of the masters of Italian sculpture is attributed the saying: "Learn anatomy and then forget it," a knowledge of anatomy being not an end in itself. The artist who aims at a generalised expression of form must extricate himself from the trivialities of individual models—"les morceaux" as the French



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critics have so appropriately characterised them. And the artist who chiselled this slim and graceful type knew his anatomy, as also how "to forget it." Instead of transcribing any particular model, he has given a mental résumé, so to speak, of numerous individual figures from the sketch book of his memory. The method of such a presentation is the necessary progenitor of certain qualities of dignity and austerity so eloquent in our example in the gravity of its exquisite repose. Notwithstanding its restful serenity, it has an abundant amount of latent energy. Indeed it is the embodiment of energy—not in action, but in repose. The figure probably represents a prince posing as a dwârpâla standing at the door of a shrine towards which he points, with a mysterious gesture. It faithfully reproduces the heroic type of the epoch which, according to the story of the reigns as pieced together from the scraps of inscriptions, appears to have been one long carnival of military exploits,

frequently punctuated by the building of the temples. It is said that every battle that the Pallavas won they commemorated by erecting a shrine, and the temple popularly known as Arjuna's Ratha was undoubtedly one of such memorials. The plastic quality of this class of reliefs will help us to realize that "dignity" and "repose" was not the monopoly of Greek Sculpture and Indian genius in art is not essentially non-plastic. The chronology of the monuments of the Pallavas incidentally calls for a revision of the views recorded in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" (Vol II, p. 121), to the effect that "after 300 A.D. Indian Sculpture properly so called hardly deserves to be reckoned as art." If none of the examples of Indian sculpture prior to that date had survived with achievements such as those of the Pallava period, India would claim a worthy place in the plastic arts of the world

II.—GARUDA, THE CARRIER OF VISHNU: IN BENGAL & JAVA.

By AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

GARUDA(1)—the mythical king of birds,—the relentless destroyer of snakes,—and the carrier of Vishnu,—is a well-known figure in Brahmanic Iconography. He is also recognised in Buddhist Iconography under the name of Suparna. In both, his appropriate place was among the demi-gods; although, on special occasions, he received independent worship, like a principal deity, on account of his supposed mystic power of counteracting the effect of poison. The ritual connected with such worship, described in the Tantrasâra,

(1) Garuda is known in Sanskrit literature by several names, for which see the Ode to Garuda in the Tantrasâra and also the names in the lexicons of Amarasimha, Jâtâdhara, Halâyudha and others. Note that in all places he is called the eater or destroyer of snakes, e.g., Nâgântaka and Pannagâsana in the Amarakosha, Uragâsana in the lexicon of Jâtâdhara, Nâgâsana in the Hârâvali, Bhuja-gântaka in the Râjanirghanta; and notice the snake-ornaments with which the image of Garuda was generally embellished in mediæval art.

prescribes a Dhyâna, which assigns to him lotus-eyes and a beautiful face(2).

"In India," observed Grunwedel, "the representation of a Garuda-bird is of extreme antiquity, but a systematic account of this mythical creature is extremely difficult" (3). Referring to the Vedic altars built in the form of a Garuda, he expressed his inability

(2) "Varmmântar-vahni-yugmâkshara-kamalagatam panchabhûtâdyâvarnam | Kliptâ-kalpam phanindrai-rabhaya-vara-karam padma-netram suvaktram || Dustâhi-cchedi-tundam smarâdakhilavisha-proshanam prânabhutam | Prâna-srenyâm trivedi-tanu-mamrita-mayam pakshi-râjam bhaje'ham ||"

Although this independent worship of Garuda has now fallen into disuse, snake-bitten-persons at Puri are even now occasionally seen to be taken to embrace the Garuda-pillar standing in the audience-hall of the great temple in the hope of obtaining a cure.

(3) Buddhist Art in India, Revised and enlarged by Burgess, p. 7. The Sulva Sutras lay down definite rules with the help of which the altar may be constructed and studied.

"to form a clear idea of the architecture and plastic art of that early period"(4). He, therefore, mentioned only what according to him appeared "certain and of value for the explanation of Buddhist sculptures"(5).

The name, derived from the word Garut, signifying a wing, may be applied to any winged creature. It is no wonder, therefore, that in some parts of India, snake-eating eagles are called Garudas even in our own day, as noticed by Grunwedel(6). We are, however, concerned here with Garuda of Brahmanic Iconography, in the art of Bengal and of Java, which has not as yet attracted any adequate attention of the learned world(7).

According to the Mahâbhâratam, Garuda was born in the form of a bird, as the younger twin-brother of Aruna, the charioteer of the Sun-god. As Aruna was born a lame, Garuda was made the king of birds. He was subsequently made immortal by Vishnu, and was appointed to be his carrier (vâhana). A further honour was conferred upon him by the adoption of his effigy on the banner of Vishnu. The form ascribed to Garuda in this mythological birth-story is that of a huge bird of uncommon strength,—grim and grotesque,—though endowed with the mystic power of assuming any form according to his wish(8). Indian artists were not slow to utilise the latitude, which was thus conceded by mythology to evolve convenient forms, which eventually came to be stereotyped by the canons of art(9). They introduced significant modifications of the bird-form of mythology, culminating in a winged human form with rounded eyes and beak-like nose. We have as yet come across no artistic representation of Garuda which

may be rightly regarded as really ancient, and in perfect agreement with the mythological form, in any specimen of Brahmanic art. In a relief, at Sanchi, from the inner side of the second architrave of the East Gate, depicting the animal world reverencing the sacred (Bodhi) tree, Grunwedel identified the parrot-like creature as Garuda(10). A parrot-form has not, however, been as yet detected or fancied in Brahmanic art. There the pair of wings was no doubt retained to the last, obviously to indicate the mythological origin and connection with winged bipeds; but in other respects the form was gradually modified and humanised, until in the late mediæval art of Bengal, Garuda, the bird of mythology, and the semi-humanised creature of the canons, came to be conceived and represented as an ideal devotee, serving or attending upon his great Master. The departure from mythological and canonical forms, revealed by this ultimate development, indicates a freedom of art-ideals, which, according to its locality of evolution, may be called Gaudian.

In the canon noted in the Vishnu-dharmmottara, we have a description of Garuda with rounded face and eyes, a nose like that of Kausika, and legs like those of a vulture, possessing four hands, two for carrying umbrella and waterpot and two folded in supplication. But the same authority says that, when carrying Vishnu

(10) "Târkshyo mârkata-prakhyah kausi-kâkâra-nâsakah | Chaturbhujâstu kartavyo vrittanetra-mukhastatah ||

Gridhrorujânu-charanah paksha-dvaya-vibhus-hanah | Prabhâ-samsthâna-soubarnah kalâpena vivarjjitah ||

Chhatrancha pûrnakumbhancha karayo-stasya kârayet | Karadvayamtu kartavyam tathâsya rachitâmjali ||"

This description is quoted from the printed edition of the book, Vishnudharmmottara (Part III, ch. 54). Gopinath Rao (Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, part II, Sanskrita texts, p. 73) quotes this description with slight variations. He quotes 'kalâpena virâjita' in place of 'kalapena vivarjjita.' The word 'kalâpa' was used here to denote the tail. The canon laid down that though the wings should be retained, the tail should be omitted. The reading quoted by Gopinath Rao is, therefore, wrong; and should be corrected.

(4) Ibid, p. 48.

(5) Ibid, p. 49, Note I.

(6) This paper was written at the request and suggestion of the Editor to whom belongs the credit of selection of the subject.

(7) Adi Parvan, chapters 31 to 33.

(8) Ibid. Garuda is called in this description Kâmarupah or endowed with a mystic power of assuming any form, according to his Kâma or wishes.

(9) Buddhist Art in India, p. 50, Illustration 26. Notice the bird-figure at the right hand end.

on his back, Garuda should not have more than two hands, both of which should touch the feet of his Master(11). When placed in front of Vishnu, another authority prescribes that Garuda should sit, with his right knee touching the ground, in a human form, retaining only the wings and the beak-like elevated (tunga) nose (12). The canons disclose instructive art-conceptions regarding the modification of the mythological form according to the requirements of particular cases. When enjoying independent worship as a principal deity, Garuda was endowed with four hands to indicate god-head; his wings, vulture-legs, and beak-like nose being left unaltered. When placed in front of his Master, or actually engaged in his service, a more humanised form was conceded, with the retention of the wings and the peculiar structure of the nose. These evolutions were obviously regulated by requirements and an idealistic treatment was necessarily preferred to a realistic one. Although mythology prescribed a bird-form, later

(11) "Yadāsyā Bhagavān prishthe chhatra-kumbha-dharau karau| Na kartabyau tu kartabyau Devapāda-dharā vubhau||

Kinchilambodarah kāryyah sarvvābharanabhū-shitah | " Ibid.

Here Gopinath Rao quotes Devapādadhara subhau. The compound Sarvvābharanabhushitah seems to be a misprint for Sarpābharanabhushitah because other authorities such as the Sritatinidhi have 'Phani-mandita.' Note that snake-ornaments are mentioned in connection with those forms of Garuda in which he serves or attends upon Vishnu, and notice the inconsistency which is thus introduced with Garuda's well-known characteristic of snake-destruction, which is retained when worshipped as a principal deity.

(12) "Upendrasyāgratah pakshī gudākesah kritānjaliḥ| Savya-jānugato bhūmau mūrdhna cha phanimanditah ||

Sthula-jangho naragriva stunga-nāso nar-angakah| Dvibāhuh paksha-yuktascha kartavyo vinatāsutah || "

In the specimens in the museum of the Varendra Research Society, Garuda is represented in sculpture, generally with his left knee touching the ground according as the pose is ālīdha or pratyālīdha. Note that snake-ornaments are mentioned in the canons; but not in mythological descriptions: indicating their introduction as an innovation devised by art.

Brahmanic canons paid little regard to it, inasmuch as they never prescribed the strict mythological form in any case. This necessitated the placing of Vishnu on the shoulders, and not on the back, of Garuda, as laid down in mythology.

The evolution of the form of Garuda in Indian plastic art was incidentally touched upon by Grunwedel, but he summarily concluded the topic with the observation that "the native parrot-type on the one hand, the West Asian Griffin on the other, are bases upon which more modern Iconography developed its Garuda"(13).

Indian plastic representation of Garuda can hardly be taken to disclose any noticeable affinity with either. The Griffin was an imaginary animal, said to be generated between the lion and the eagle. It used to be represented with wings, a beak, and four legs,—the upper part resembling an eagle, and the lower part a lion. Here the distinctive feature was the addition of wings to the lion, which it was not endowed with by Nature. It was rather a case of creation of a hybrid between two animals—a winged biped and a quadruped with a tail. The process in the case of the Indian Garuda was essentially different,—it was one of humanisation and not of any monstrous creation of uncalled-for fancy. The initial conception being so distinctly dissimilar, the suggested base of evolution is liable to appear more fanciful than real. Be that as it may, the history of Indian Art is more concerned with development than with origin; and in this respect the evolution of the form of Garuda offers an instructive study, disclosing the slow but sure processes of gradual triumph of intelligent idealism over a matter-of-fact realism of the origin.

In oldest examples, as in the shape of Vedic altars, Garuda might have been appropriately conceived and represented as a bird, soaring up to heaven, "with wings bent and the tail spread out" (Vakrapaksha vyastapuchcha), as laid down in the Sulva Sutra (14). In such treatment the necessity for humanisation could not arise,

(13) Buddhist Art in India, Revised and enlarged by Burgess, p. 51.

(14) J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, part I, pp. 227-275.

because the idea of soaring up to heaven was the only relevant idea which played a predominating part, inasmuch as the bird-form of the altar was based upon a belief that the performer of sacrifices in such altars would soar up to heaven like the bird.

The service of Garuda under Vishnu, a later mythological conception, created the necessity for humanisation. Garuda was not born as a servant. As a bird, he displayed many feats of uncommon strength. He entered the service of Vishnu later in life, after perpetual youth and immortality had been vouchsafed to him. This service could be conceived and represented in art with better grace and appropriateness in a more or less humanised form than in the form of a mere bird. The purpose, therefore, seems to have determined the line of evolution, which had little in common with the art-ideal of Western Asia, or with any pre-existing model of reckless indulgence in unwarrantable fancy. In the process of this evolution, the humanised face generally retained the rounded eyes, and the beak-like nose, to the last. While the hands were added and folded in supplication, obviously to give an adequate expression to loyal service and unflinching attachment, the legs were allowed to remain still unchanged, like the pair of wings. When the legs were gradually modified and brought on a line with the hands, the eyes and the nose were still allowed to retain their primitive features. The first efforts necessarily took time to achieve proper adjustment. An agreeable humanised form does not, therefore, appear to have been developed before the late mediæval period(15). We meet with this noticeably in the Gaudian region and in the countries which came under its art-influence during the long enduring Empire of the Pala-Kings of Bengal. A specimen, discovered in Varendra (North Bengal) and preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi, is published as an example.

In Vishnu-images of the ordinary type, Garuda usually appears in the pedestal, seat-

ed in a heroic pose(16) with folded hands in the attitude of an earnest devotee. The image of Garuda, when placed on pillars, in or in front of Vishnu-temples, to face the deity, assumes this well-established pose. This furnished the central idea which regulated the appropriate adjustment of details, but here art must have been beset with difficulties created by mythology. An ideal devotee should have an overflowing love for all, enmity against none; Garuda, the inveterate enemy and the relentless destroyer of snakes, could be hardly raised to the spiritual plane of an ideal devotee without an adequate device to disclose a complete change of his attitude towards his enemy. This was happily achieved by the canons of art by assigning to Garuda ornaments of snake, with a hooded one prominently placed on the head as a crowning member of his princely head-dress. It was no doubt a legitimate triumph of art, but here the student of history may be tempted to trace a latent influence of Buddhist teaching, culminating in a restoration of amity between Garuda and his enemy(17). Be that as it may, it was the devotee that supplied the ideal; and the ideal found a congenial atmosphere in later mediæval age in the heart of the Gaudian Empire in which traditions favoured the fancy. An unflinching devotion had come to be believed to enable the devotee to come out successful in all ordeals in which his spiritual strength might be tested, because the later Buddhist and Tantrika teaching had equally established the dogma of the devotee's oneness with the deity, laying a strong foundation of hope for all mankind. A devotee, according to this teaching, was sometimes declared to be more powerful than his deity, inasmuch as he could easily make the deity fulfil all wishes, however extravagant.

The specimen of "Vishnu riding on Garuda" from Varendra may be looked upon as an artistic representation of a spiritual ordeal and its ultimate triumph. It is a case

(16) Either *âlîdha* or *pratyâlîdha* style of sitting, with one knee raised up and another touching the ground.

(17) The Sanskrit drama *Nâgânanda* may be taken as an example.

(15) Compare all published images of Garuda.

of departure and a bold departure from the mythological account, according to which Garuda failed to bear the weight of an arm of his Master when it was placed on his back to test his power of endurance. It was a story, not of triumph, but of an unqualified failure(18). In the specimen from Varendra, the left knee of Vishnu is so placed on the left shoulder of Garuda as to throw the momentum on that side, which is cleverly and successfully adjusted by the palm of the left hand of Garuda used as a prop. Without betraying the least sign of anguish or inconvenience, he essays to soar up with his burden, with a sweet smile of conscious confidence in his strength, in the happy moment of triumph of his unflinching devotion. There is vigour and action in the picture, adding grandeur and dignity to the scene. There is vigour in the unbending fortitude, indicated by the inflated breast; and action in the evident effort, appropriately displayed by the disposition of the feet down to the toes. Although the sculpture was intended to represent Vishnu as the main deity and Garuda as his humble carrier, yet the sympathy of the artist threw the main image slightly in the background and depicted Garuda on a double lotus-throne, with a prominence which would naturally attract the first attention of the spectator and reveal the motive of the sculptor. The moment chosen by the artist was indeed the happiest he could find for his chisel. It was the moment just before the actual flight, a moment when the first effect of sudden pressure had been overcome and forgotten, a moment when a prospect of ultimate triumph had already filled the carrier with confidence and buoyancy. Vishnu, seated self-composed on the shoulder of Garuda, with the outstretched palm of his right hand, may be fancied to

have acknowledged the triumph and offered his best blessings by way of approbation and encouragement.

In this respect the example from Varendra appears to be more graceful than the two striking specimens from Southern India, published by Gopinath Rao(19). There Vishnu rides astride, with bent legs, resting his feet on the hands of Garuda, as if in a pair of stirrups. This was evidently due to no artistic necessity but to a strict observance of the canon. It was this rigid observance which made the picture inappropriate with the idea of flight. To this again was due the want of due dignity in the pose of Vishnu. The specimen from Java, published here, through the courtesy of the Editor, discloses a greater affinity with the specimen of Varendra than with those of Southern India. In Java, a colonial freedom gave a greater prominence to Garuda by selecting the moment of sudden pressure for artistic treatment. A less humanised face, with a wide-open mouth and fantastic semi-humanised vulture-legs, found an appropriate adjustment with the first moment of anguish. The dignified pose of Vishnu, due to a departure from time-honoured canons, which required his feet to rest upon the hands of Garuda; the well-pronounced prominence given to the carrier, exhibiting an evident effort to rise equal to the occasion, though apparently discomfited by the suddenness of the first impact—are some of the noticeable features of the Javanese relief which discloses an affinity between the art-ideals of Java and of Bengal. This receives additional support from the similarity of technique displayed in the dress, ornaments, and the graceful pose given to Vishnu. Although the two countries are separated by a wide expanse of ocean, yet recent investigation has demonstrated the existence of an intimate maritime connection in the days of yore, when the brave mariners of the Bengal coast steered their ships as far as China, while mercantile and missionary efforts carried art-ideals and culture of their motherland to distant shores. This accounts for a

(18) The story is narrated in the Vishnu-dharmamottara, part III, chapter 343:

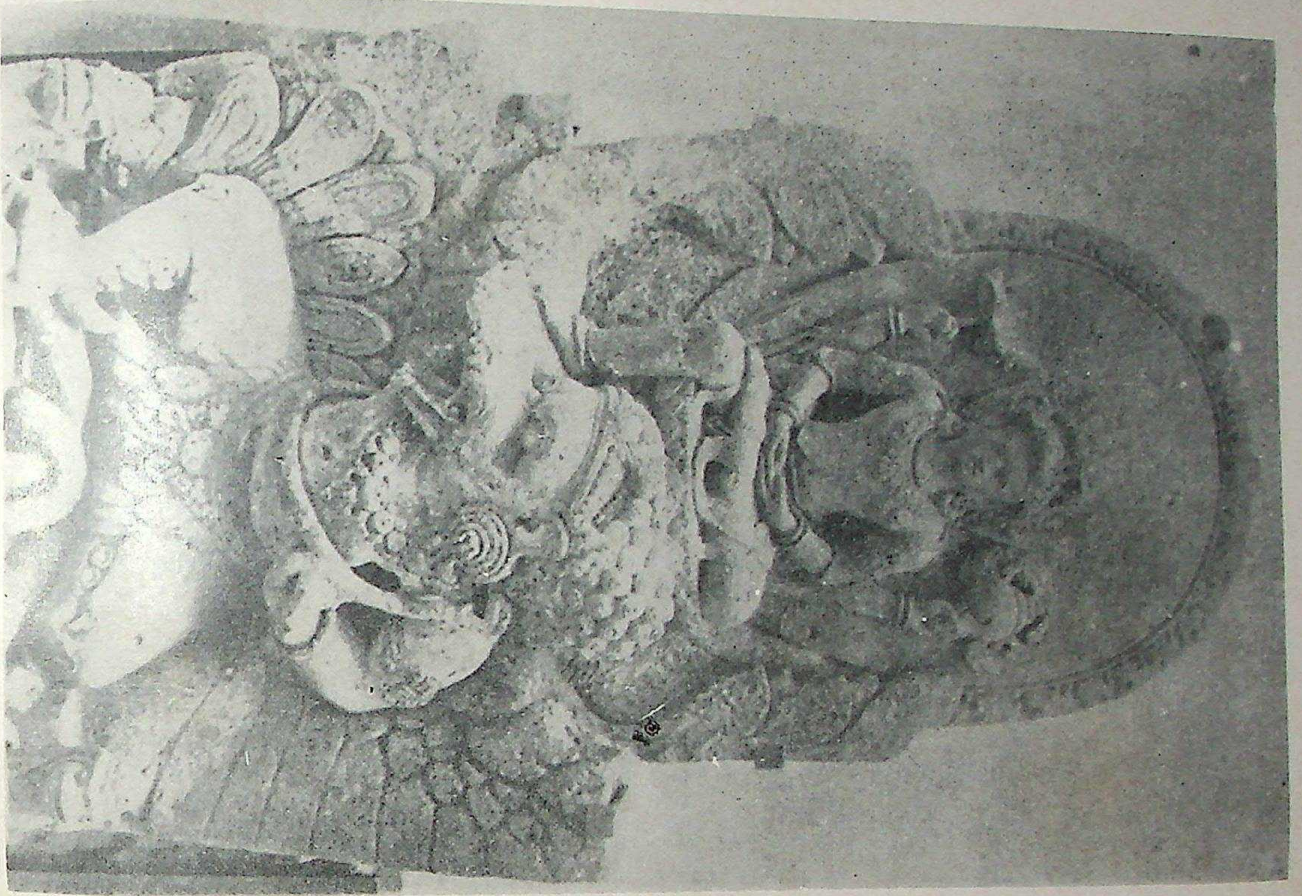
"Saktischedasti. vodhum te bhujamekam vahasva me|

Evamuktva dadau prishthe tasya savyam bhujam Harih||

Tato vishanna-vadanah paksha-tyâgat khagottamah|

Klânto dinascha tushtava Devesam Madhusûdanam||"

(19). Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, part I, p. 268, Plate LXXX.



Collection, Museum of Modjokerto, Java.



Collection, Museum, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

similarity of art-ideals in two such distant countries of the world.

The form of Garuda in these two specimens is no doubt dissimilar, but the dissimilarity is limited to the outlines of the form,—it does not extend to the spirit and scheme of the conception. The art-aspiration in both discloses a fundamental similarity which cannot be fairly ignored. In both it is an aspiration to depict a struggle,—in the one, an endeavour and an achievement, in the other, a less pronounced earlier stage of the same. This was due to the selection of different moments of action of the same episode, calculated to develop the same ideal. To this was due the necessary difference of outward forms, which, in each case, was evidently determined by the appropriateness of the situation. The song was the same,—in tune, pathos, and theme,—though the words were different. In Java, as in Bengal, the main theme was idealistic. In the late mediæval period, it fairly set itself free from the trammels of the canons of a bygone age, which tended to stereotype all productions of future art by building up an orthodox tradition through which new light could hardly pass. Yet a new light eventually penetrated through it, and fell upon the art-ideals of the period in question to clothe them with an exuberance of new life, as may be unhesitatingly noticed in many specimens discovered up to date, in spite of the last word of learned critics refusing to recognise anything but gradual decay in the mediæval art of India. This opinion, first pronounced by Fergusson, who had hardly ample materials to dogmatise upon, established a creed which is yet hard to die. According to this opinion, "the history of Indian Art is written in its decay,"—a decay which followed the fall of the Gupta Empire

and found no subsequent epoch to retard its progress, much less to inaugurate a regeneration. Many materials have since been discovered, which throw a legitimate doubt upon the correctness of this pronouncement. As there is no last word in Science, it was better if we could keep an open mind so long at any rate as new materials were not properly analysed and published.

It was a mere assumption that national life in India practically ended for ever with the fall of the Gupta Empire, and on this assumption was based the opinion about the decay of art. But subsequent research has now fairly established the fact that a national regeneration once again appeared in the train of political advancement ushered in by the establishment of the Pala-Kingdom of Bengal. This must also have introduced a new progress in art. In fact it was the art of this period which exerted a lasting influence upon many distant countries such as Tibet, China, Japan, and the Islands of the Pacific. There is, therefore, a great future for the study of this art, which should be pursued with an open mind. A tradition recorded by Lama Târânâth and a claim put forward by Sandhyâkara, the patriotic poet of Varendra, supply literary notices of a regeneration of art in Bengal, but the most convincing proofs are furnished by the sculptures discovered and collected by the Varendra Research Society. They show at a glance an undeniable effort to invest old forms with new commentaries and interpretations. Whatever success was attained in this line, though insufficient to surpass the achievements of Indian Art in the past, might be fairly recognised as new efforts to aim at a regeneration in which a direct link may be discovered between the art-ideals of Bengal and of Java.

III.—THE CONTINUITY OF PICTORIAL TRADITION IN THE ART OF INDIA.

By E. VREDENBURG.

NO other country has suffered so much as India from the ravages of time. In many branches of art, the destruction of the treasures of past ages has

been complete. Generally the modern historian has shown but little sympathy for the unfortunate country in its deplorable ruin. There is a constant tendency to deny

the very existence of what has been destroyed, while every imaginable excuse is resorted to in order to attribute a foreign origin to whatever survives; as in the delightfully humorous instance of the discussions regarding the mausoleum of Shah-Jahan's consort which various authors have attributed in turn to the French, the Italians, the Turks, the Persians, the Portuguese or the Irish as though to rob India of the credit of this beautiful work. By all means let us be cautious, and where the record is absent or inconclusive let us avoid a partisan conclusion. What to an unprejudiced mind must appear inexcusable is the manner in which the record is treated when it is fragmentary. Whenever a gap occurs in the history of any form of art, a foreign origin is at once attributed to its next appearance in the record. Owing to a combination of purely fortuitous circumstances, some Indian paintings dating from the second century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. have been preserved in the caves of Ajanta. Their remoteness in a sparsely inhabited region secured them from the violence of man until the advent of the tourist era, while owing to their relatively dry situation they had not much suffered from natural agencies. We need not discuss the numerous attempts that have been made to ascribe the Ajanta paintings to the Greeks, Persians or Chinese. Let us accept that they are Indian. From the eighth to the fifteenth century, the perishable art of painting is scarcely represented by any Indian remains. When, at the threshold of modern times, we get fairly numerous extant Indian paintings during the Moghul dynasty, these have been, with wonderful unanimity, declared to be Persian works. In a standard text-book on Indian art, "*L' Art Indien*," by Maurice Maindron, the whole subject of the Moghul School of painting is dismissed with the following brief words: "*La peinture indienne sous les empereurs mogols, ne diffère en rien de l'art persan*," [Indian painting under the Moghul Emperors does not differ in any way from Persian Art], with an added comment from two other well-known orientalists, Gustave Le Bon and Fergusson, as to the utter artistic worthlessness of Moghul paintings owing to their

"defective composition and absence of perspective." A foot note accounts in the following words for the omission of any example of this school amongst the illustrations: "*Nous n'avons figuré ici aucune miniature indienne de l'époque musulmane parce que, en dehors du costume des personnages elles n'apportent aucun renseignement sur l'art indien. Toutes sont nettement persanes*."* [We have not included any illustration of any Indian miniatures of the Musulman period, because, beyond the costume of the personages, they do not provide any information as regards Indian Art. All are clearly Persian.] This is what we read in a work the general tone of which is entirely favourable to the Indians and warmly appreciative of Indian Art. It is astonishing how grudgingly anything is conceded to the Indians. If we consult Martin's superb monograph on the painting of the Near and Middle East after reading through his excellent and thoroughly appreciative treatment of the Moghul phase of the art, we are staggered by the truly astounding statement that the Kangra pictures are of European inspiration and that they were painted for the English market. The theory of the Persian origin of the Moghul School of painting has been entirely disproved by the valuable researches of Havell, Percy Brown and Coomaraswamy. The interpretation here advocated is therefore no new discovery, yet the mischievous fallacies that have been propounded to the detriment of Indian Art are so hard to eradicate that it is worth while making some more remarks on the subject.

It is owing to circumstances entirely fortuitous that the Ajanta wall paintings have been preserved. No other examples of the same period have subsisted for the simple reason that all contemporary buildings that might have contained mural paintings have perished, the same reason accounting for the absence of any remains throughout many centuries subsequent to the latest Ajanta paintings. The mediæval Indian temple, though frequently built of stone or of durable burnt bricks, does not contain

*Maurice Maindron, '*L' Art Indien*. Paris, 1898, p. 154, footnote 2.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

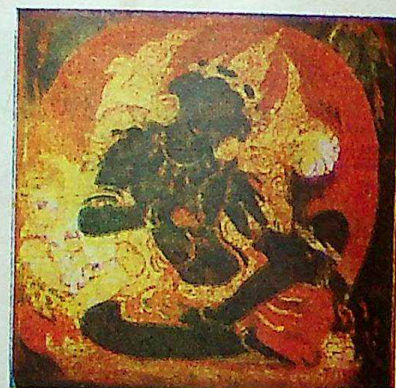


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

plane surfaces of sufficient continuity to call for the aid of pictorial decoration, while, down to the close of the mediæval period, palaces, monasteries, or such public buildings as might afford an occasion for the display of wall decoration were constructed of perishable materials. In the absence of any remains of mural paintings there subsist nevertheless a few minor works which clearly prove the flourishing condition of Indian Pictorial Art from the eighth or ninth century to the end of the Middle Ages. Of particular interest are the Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts illuminated with religious paintings. Their value as documents is greatly enhanced by the fact that they are often accurately dated. The reproductions illustrating these pages are from a Nepalese or Behari manuscript copy of the *Ashtamahāyāna Prāṇāparimitā*, the sloka-bandha which, deciphered by Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana, informs us that it was written at the expense of the home minister Udaya Sinha for the benefit of the souls of his parents, during the 39th year of Maharajadhiraja Ramapala, the famous Emperor of Bengal. This is one of the only three inscriptions at present known that are contemporary with the era of Ramapala. If we accept the chronology adopted by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in his monograph on the Pal dynasty, the date of the manuscript is 1080 A.D. At all events, it cannot be later than the commencement of the twelfth century and therefore its date exactly bisects the "hiatus" between the last Ajanta and first Moghul paintings. Reproductions of similarly illustrated manuscripts, both older and newer, have been published by Messrs. Foucher, R. D. Banerjee and other authors.

The wooden covers and several pages of the text of the present manuscript are decorated with graceful miniatures for the identification of which I am indebted principally to the kindness of Monsieur Foucher. In the cover of one of the covers is the yellow-coloured goddess Ramaparamita surrounded by numerous worshipping divinities; two other compartments contain goddesses also of a yellow colour, one of whom is Mārici, the other remaining unidentified. The extreme edges of the board show the seven Tathāgata and Maitreya, forming two

symmetrical groups of four figures each, all turned towards the centres of the panel. The paintings on the other cover are divided into nine compartments, eight of which illustrate the eight principal events or miracles in the life of the Buddha Śākya-Muni, namely: the Birth, the Enlightenment, the multiplication of images, the subduing of the demon at Benares (forming the central panel), the descent from Heaven, the offering of the monkey, the Death. The ninth compartment is occupied by a green Dharmapala kneeling on one knee, with sword and lasso, probably some form of Acala Vajrapāni or of Manjusri. The pictures decorating the title-pages and the pages of the text are of the same style as the miniature illustrations.

Fig. 1.—AMITABHA, the celestial Buddha of Infinite Light, with two attendant divinities (Avalokitesvara and Mañjuśrī). The blue robe held in his left hand is probably a samantabhadra (the universal kindness) emblem of Universal kindness.

Fig. 2.—Amitayus, the Buddha of Infinite Life, with two attendant divinities (Avalokitesvara and Mañjuśrī). The blue robe held in his left hand is probably a samantabhadra (the universal kindness) emblem of Universal kindness.

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Fig. 4.—AVALOKITEŚVARA, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, with two attendant divinities (Avalokitesvara and Mañjuśrī). The blue robe held in his left hand is probably a samantabhadra (the universal kindness) emblem of Universal kindness.

Fig. 5.—AVALOKITEŚVARA, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, with two attendant divinities (Avalokitesvara and Mañjuśrī). The blue robe held in his left hand is probably a samantabhadra (the universal kindness) emblem of Universal kindness.

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Fig. 1

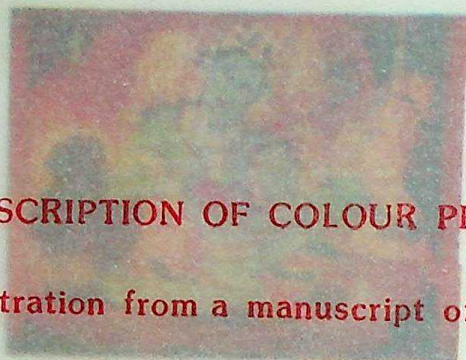


Fig. 2

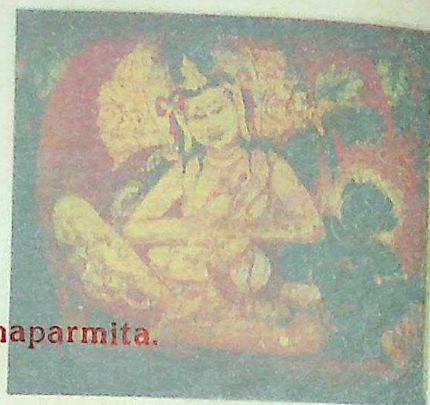


Fig. 3

DESCRIPTION OF COLOUR PLATE

Miniature Illustration from a manuscript of Prajnaparmita.

COLLECTION E. VREDENBURG, ESQ., CALCUTTA.

Fig. 1.—*AMITABHA*, the celestial Buddha of Infinite Light, with two attendant divinities (*Avalokita* and *Manjusri*).

Fig. 2.—A Bodhisattva with two attendant divinities; from the characteristic green colour and from the blue lotus held in his left hand, probably *Samantabhadra* (the incarnation of Universal kindness, patron of ecstatic meditation).

Fig. 3.—The Bodhisattva *MAITREYA*, the future Buddha with characteristic flowering branch above left shoulder : accompanied by attendant divinity.



Fig. 4

Fig. 4.—*AVALOKITA*, attendant divinity (probably *HAYAGRIVA*).

Fig. 5.—The Bodhisattva *AKA-SAGARBHA* (the Essence of the Void space or Ether), with attendant divinity: identified from the sword issuing from the lotus at his left shoulder (distinguishing him from *Manjusri* who has the sword on the opposite side, and, moreover, is usually yellow).

Fig. 6.—A Bodhisattva, presumably, from the dark-blue colour *VAJRAPANI* (the emblem above the lotus being indistinct); with an attendant divinity.

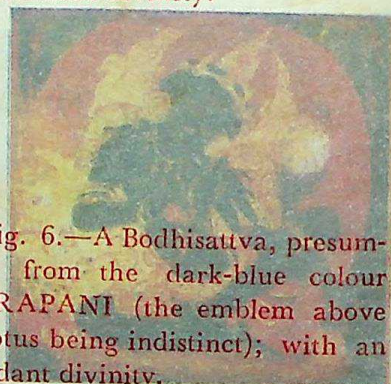


Fig. 6

Fig. 7.—The Green *Tara*. At her left shoulder appears her usual emblem—the blue lotus. Of the two attendant goddesses the one coloured yellow may be *ASOKA-KANTA*, as indicated by a small pig's head above her right shoulder.

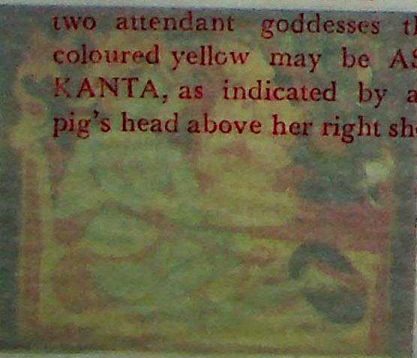


Fig. 7

Fig. 8.—*AVALOKITA*, the Divine Providence, accompanied by a yellow *Tara* and probably *HAYAGRIVA*.

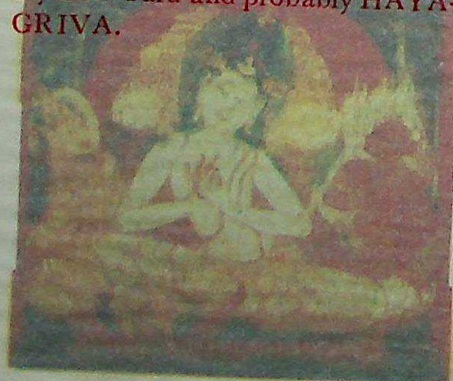


Fig. 8

Fig. 9.—*MAHAKALA*, as a God of wealth surrounded by flames, with ornaments all consisting of coiled snakes; he holds in one hand the mongoose spitting jewels (also an emblem of *Kuvera*), in the other a *kapala* or skull-cup.

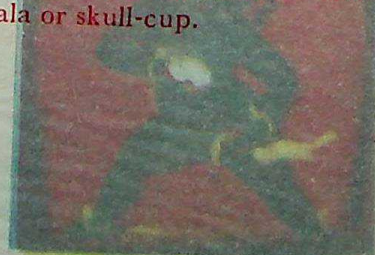


Fig. 9

plane surfaces of sufficient continuity to call for the aid of pictorial decoration, while, down to the close of the mediæval period, palaces, monasteries, or such public buildings as might afford an occasion for the display of wall decoration were constructed of perishable materials. In the absence of any remains of mural paintings there subsist nevertheless a few minor works which clearly prove the flourishing condition of Indian Pictorial Art from the eighth or ninth century to the end of the Middle Ages. Of particular interest are the Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts illuminated with religious paintings. Their value as documents is greatly enhanced by the fact that they are often accurately dated. The reproductions illustrating these pages are from a Nepalese or Behari manuscript copy of the *Astasa-hasrikâ Prajnâpâramitâ*, the colophon of which, deciphered by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana, informs us that it was written at the expense of the householder Udaya Sinha for the benefit of the souls of his parents, during the 39th year of Maharajadhiraja Ramapala, the famous Emperor of Bengal. This is one of the only three inscriptions at present known that are contemporary with the era of Ramapala. If we accept the chronology adopted by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in his monograph on the Pala dynasty, the date of the manuscript is 1090 A.D. At all events, it cannot be later than the commencement of the twelfth century and therefore its date exactly bisects the "hiatus" between the last Ajanta and first Moghul paintings. Reproductions of similarly illustrated manuscripts, both older and newer, have been published by Messrs. Foucher, R. D. Banerjee and other authors.

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As in all the iconography of Mahâyânist Buddhism, all the representations are essentially Shaivite. (Notice particularly the head-dress of matted hair in Figs. 3, 4 & 8.) We are apt to forget that Buddhism and Hinduism are not separate religions, scarcely even separate sects, but rather two schools of thought. Modern Hinduism is essentially a branch of Mahâyâna. In consequence of the conversion to Islam of a large proportion of Northern India,

the main areas of Mahâyâna Buddhism and of modern Hinduism are now separated from one another by a wedge of Mahommedan populations, a circumstance which greatly contributes to the popular misconception of their representing distinct religions. What seems to have happened is that what has now become "Northern Buddhism" has been cut off from the later developments of modern Hinduism as characterised by the rise of Vaishnavism and represents therefore a survival of the purely Shaivite phase. But for this circumstance modern Buddhism would have been tinged with Vaishnavism just as much as modern Hinduism. Where the severance has not been complete we do find the commencements of Vaishnava influence in Buddhist works, as for instance in Nepal where even so modern a development in popular worship as the Krishna cycle may intrude itself.

It is obvious that Bhairava and Kali are the prototypes of all the "fierce" gods and goddesses of the later Mahâyâna pantheon. Amongst the "fierce" gods represented as attendant divinities, attention may be drawn to the one with raised right hand which, from a comparison with later works, probably represents Hayagriva and would be therefore one of the earliest known representations of this divinity.

Amongst technical peculiarities, attention may be drawn to the downward pointing angle in the middle of the upper eyelid of several of the faces by means of which the downcast look is emphasized; a means of expression frequently used in Nepalese and Tibetan sculpture and painting. It is the form distinguished as "padmapalâsha" in Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore's treatise on Indian Artistic Anatomy. Attention may also be drawn to the discreet and effective use of modelling in several of the faces and figures. The easy and graceful attitudes, the treatment of the costume and personal ornaments, of architectural and vegetable forms, all agree strictly with the style with which the Ajanta paintings have made us familiar.

It has been pointed out to me by the Editor that these small miniatures do not represent a separate style of book illustration, but that they have merely the

appearance of reduced mural paintings. This is well shown by the enlarged views in Figs. 10 & 11. Down to the Moghul period Indian miniature painting always seems to have maintained this character of monumental painting "in miniature," and never seems to have developed a truly characteristic phase of book illustration as in Persia, China, Japan or in the mediæval West. Everyone is acquainted with the fact that Moghul paintings gain instead of losing from enlargement, as is clearly shown by some of the illustrations in Havell's treatise. Anyone who has attended a lecture on Indian painting has been struck by the superb decorative character which the Moghul miniatures acquire when projected, immensely enlarged, on a screen. The immediate impression is that they would make glorious cartoons for fresco or tapestry work. It seems evident that, from the eighth to fifteenth century, the Indian artist had never lost the habit of mural decoration. On a scale analogous to that of mural decoration are the Buddhist temple banners of which various Museum collections contain many examples from Tibet and Nepal. The practice of painting these banners must have persisted in India wherever Mahâyâna worship survived down to the thirteenth century. Of the Tibeto-Nepalese group of these works I am not at present acquainted with any examples anterior to the sixteenth century, but a beautiful banner attributed to the eleventh century, which seems to be either Indian or copied from an Indian model, at present preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has been reproduced in Anesaki's work on "Buddhist Art" (Plate VI). That the tradition of figure subjects as applied to wall decoration had survived in India till the end of the sixteenth century is clearly shown by the beautiful mural paintings at Fatehpur-Sikri of which some well-preserved fragments still survived until a few years back. The Editor has also drawn my attention to the large picture painted on cotton in the technique of the Buddhist banners, which represents the portraits of the Indian princes of the house of Timur, and is now preserved in the British Museum. It dates from about 1615. It is an admirable example of Moghul painting, but it is one of those composite



Fig. 1:



Fig. II.

works in which there are unmistakable signs of Persian influence. As the Safavid palaces were decorated with mural paintings, its monumental character might have been inspired by Persian as much as by Indian examples.

It so happens that we do possess one splendid instance of paintings on a monumental scale belonging to the closing years of the "hiatus," and owing their preservation to the fact that they are mosaics built of indestructible glazed tiles. They seem, curiously enough, to have been overlooked in works dealing with Indian painting. The use of enamelled tiles for wall decoration may have been derived in India from Persia where the art had perhaps been inherited from the ancient Chaldeans. In mediæval times the use of glazed tiles for architectural decoration had spread over the whole world from Seville and Kairawan to Jerusalem, Gaur, Pagan and Nankin; everywhere adapting itself to the exigencies of local styles. Whatever the origin of the material, the designs in the instance here alluded to are purely Indian. Nothing could be imagined more typically Ajantesque, nothing at the same time further remote from Persian art, than the banana trees in glazed tiles that decorate the walls of Man Singh's palace. They belong to the last decade of the fifteenth century or to the first of the sixteenth. The coloured panels were therefore still fresh from the artists' hands when they drew forth unstinted praise from

Babar, an enlightened connoisseur, though little given to enthusiasm over things Indian. The mosaic panels of the palace at Lahore dating from the commencement of the seventeenth century might represent a continuation of the same tradition but must not be insisted on as evidence, for, in all the art treasures that still survive at Lahore, we find everywhere an overwhelming Persian influence of which there is no trace in the Gwalior panels of the end of the fifteenth century. If Gwalior in the sixteenth century possessed painters capable of designing such masterpieces, it seems unlikely that at Agra, less than 80 miles distant, Humayun or the practical-minded Akbar would have needed to send over seas or across deserts to Persia, when they required the services of artists to enhance the lustre of their Court.

Summarising the above remarks, we find that the remains of minor works of Indian painting dating from the eighth to the fifteenth century though not numerous are sufficient to establish the continuity of the practice of pictorial art, while their style thoroughly establishes the continued survival of the Ajanta tradition. Certain peculiarities suggest that the practice of wall decoration had not fallen into disuse and a weighty argument in this favour is afforded by the mosaics of Man Singh's palace,—which, by their date, link the mediæval era to the Moghul period.

(To be Concluded.)

IV.—A NOTE ON KIRTIMUKHA: BEING THE LIFE-HISTORY OF AN INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT.

THERE is hardly an element in Indian art-forms and decorative devices which occurs and continues in its place merely for the sake of its artistic value, namely, that of performing its æsthetic function of filling in a space or affording an artistic foil and balance to any given composition. The Indian craftsman's designs are not content with a mere artistic appeal to our sense perceptions in a peculiarly happy disposition of lines and forms but are also

informed, imbued and scintillating, as it were, with an infinite variety of national ideas and beliefs, religious or mythical, which invest these forms of decorations with a significance and meaning which it would be difficult to find in their artistic elements alone. So that there is hardly any decorative design or artistic motif in Indian Art which does not contain, conceal or carry some suggestions or aroma of some old old story travelling across the ages, from the baby-days of national consciousness.

Many of the Indian artistic motifs thus perform a twin function of exciting, in the first place, the æsthetic perception of form and space and, secondly, of waking up the racial memory of some myths or legends, very often of an intensely poetic character which adds to and stimulates the merely æsthetic side of its appeal and which long ago captured the national imagination and is now perpetuated in many a stereotyped form in religious and philosophical dogmas. If it is a tree that the Indian artist has pictured in a particular composition, in nine cases out of ten, it will turn out to be the eternal "Kalpa-druma" "the wishing tree" of the ancient legend, or the Bodhi-tree of Buddhist history. If it is the lotus that the artist has preferred to introduce in a decorative composition, it is there not only because it is the queen of the Indian flower-land, but because it symbolizes the national ideal of the immortality of the soul and, as such a symbol, is the favourite flower of all the gods of the Indian pantheon, and in the language of its form a whole system of philosophy and psycho-physiology of yoga has been couched by the old sages of India. Is it the elephant that we find pictured in any Indian decoration, it is not there merely by virtue of its secular association as an element in royal processions; it is sacred to the Indian mind as the mount of the great Indra, the King of the Gods, and as the attendant carrying the water for the sacred bath of the goddess Lakshmi (Fortune). It is also the form which the "Enlightened One" assumed in his former birth as one of the earlier Bodhisattvas. Thus the objective visual picture, very pleasing, no doubt, as an ocular sensation, has also a subjective aspect which calls up a whole world of spiritual vision throbbing and pulsating with an array of associations dear and sacred to the national memory.

The figure of the Kîrtimukha (lit. "Glory-face") is one of such artistic motifs, unfortunately by its age somewhat stereotyped, which persistently occurs throughout the whole history of Indian Art—first as a sacred symbol, then as a mere artistic device, and latterly as an architectonic sine qua non in a class of temple-architecture.

The origin of Kîrtimukha is narrated in a legend which forms the 17th Chapter of the Kârtikamâsa Mâhâtmya of the Skandapurâna (Vishnukhânda). Jalandara, the King of the Daityas [demons], having acquired the sovereignty of the Three Worlds, sent Râhu as a messenger to the great Lord Siva who was about to wed Parvati, the daughter of Himalaya, to tell the Great God that "the beggar Siva" was not a worthy spouse for the beautiful princess, who was only destined to be the Queen of Jalandara. As soon as Râhu had delivered his impertinent message there shot forth from between the eyebrows of Lord Siva a terrible being roaring like thunder, with a face like that of the lion, a protruding tongue, eyes burning with fire, with its hairs flying upwards; it had a thin emaciated body but in its strength seemed to be a second Nrisimha, the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu. As this terrible being ran to eat him up, Râhu fled in horror and began to pray to Siva for protection. Siva dissuaded the terrible being from eating up Râhu. Upon that the former complained to Siva of a very painful hunger and asked Siva for the means of appeasing it. Siva ordered him to eat up the flesh of his own hands and feet which the being forthwith did, leaving only its face intact as the only remnant of its body. Siva was greatly pleased at this and thus addressed the terrible face: "You will be known henceforth as Kîrtimukha, and I ordain, you shall remain always at my doorway. He who fails to worship you shall never be able to acquire my grace." Since then Kîrtimukha has had a permanent place on the doorway of Siva's temple.*

* "Vadatyevam tadâ Râhou bhrumadhy-
âchchulapâninah | Abhavat purusho raudrastî-
brâsanisama-swanah || 20

Simhâsyah pralalajjihwah sa jwalannayano
mahân | Urdha-keshah sushka-tantur-nrisimhaiba
châparah || 21

Twam Kîrtimukha-sanjno hi bhava maddâri-
gah sadâ | Twadarcham ye na kurbbanti naiba te
me priyamkarâh || 30

Tadâ pravriti devasya dwâri Kîrtimukhah
sthitah | Nârchayantiha ye purbam teshâmarchâ
brithâ bhabet || "

—Skandapurâna. Basumati Edition. Calcutta,
Vol. II, pages 1182-1183.

The Skandapurâna, in one of its MSS written in the Gupta script, dates as early as the seventh century A.D. and in the earlier recensions may be still older. It is essentially a Saivaite purâna and the legends recorded in the work must certainly be earlier than the fourth century. The proposition will be supported by monumental evidences regarding the Kîrtimukha to which we shall presently refer. According to our legend, the Kîrtimukha became a special emblem of Siva and consequently an important adjunct on the lintel over the doorway of Saivaite temples. The temple craftsman has repeatedly used the face of Kîrtimukha primarily as the essential symbol of a Saivaite temple quite distinct and separate from the fanciful designs of scroll work usually employed on doorways. Then he has used it as part and parcel of his decorative friezes on the doorways of temples. In course of time it lost its original Saivaite character and was used indiscriminately as a mere auspicious decoration on some prominent part, generally, the top of the entrance to any temple, Saivaite or Vaishnavite. It occurs again and again in many of the early Gupta temples, where it probably still carried its Saivaite association. In some images of Siva, the face of Kîrtimukha is placed right on the jatâmu-kuta (crown of matted locks) of Siva—a compliment which outstrips the legend as related in the Skandapurâna, according to which, it was ordained by Siva that Kîrtimukha should remain on the doorway of his abode. This may be due to the artist's too fanciful interpretation of the text of the legend. But this interpretation has many concrete examples, e.g., in the image of Trimurti in the Elephanta cave, in the ten-handed Natarâja in the Dasâvatâra cave at Ellora and in many Saivaite images in Southern Indian temples, one of which we have illustrated here from the Subrahmanya temple at Tanjore (vide Fig. 1). The Kîrtimukha has also figured on the prabhâ-mandala or aureoles placed at the back of metal and stone images. It has been frequently used by image-makers in all parts of India as a useful ornamental finial for the upper decorations of images. Thus they have been used indiscriminately for the

prabhâ-torana (the "gate of glory") at the back of images, Saivaite, Vaishnavite and even Jaina. This will be apparent from the examples here reproduced (Figs. 2, 3, 6, and 8). In the decorations of the Dilwara temple at Mount Abu it is frequently met with.

The stone image of Narasimha from Srirangam (Fig. 3) is of special interest as the face of the principal image, the "man-lion" incarnation of Vishnu, affords a very close literal interpretation of the text of the legend quoted above where the face of Kîrtimukha is described as "a second Nara-simha" (Nrisimhaiba châparah). By continual repetition this motif has acquired a conventionalized form and a fixed type, the first appearance of which is at present difficult to trace. In the absence of actual survivals of the earliest prototype we are compelled to refer to later examples from the ruins at Konarak where, by the way, the device occurs at the top of the image of Surya as it does also on many of the images at Bhuvaneswara (Orissa). The examples in Orissa may be taken as a fair type of the models on the lines of which the face of Kîrtimukha has been conventionalized throughout the whole course of Indian Art. It offers a great contrast to the earlier types, of which we can illustrate here only three examples. The earliest of our illustrations (Fig. 4) is from the fragment of a Gupta temple at Sarnath probably dating about the third century.* Here the treatment is hardly artistic at all and does not fit in with the "hamsa" as part of the design. One is inclined to take this example as the artist's obligatory observance of the sacred symbol as an essential indication of the Saivaite character of the shrine, for nobody can enter into the presence of Siva before adoring the Kîrtimukha. Anyhow in this example the figure has not attained a fixed type such as we meet with in the later specimens. At Ajanta, we meet with the "terrible face" (Fig. 5) depicted within a small circle

* Sir John Marshall to whom we are indebted for the photograph ascribes the lintel to the Gupta era. From the archaic form of the face and its association with "hamsa" which is sacred to Buddhist art, it may perhaps be ascribed to an earlier epoch

and affixed on one of the horse-hoof arches at the top of the building in the palace scene painted on the wall between the doors to the cell in Cave No. I which has been dated about 500 A.D. Here evidently the face has been used as a mere auspicious symbol without any sectarian association and seems to suggest that by the early part of the sixth century, by repeated use, the figure must have lost its Saivaite character so as to be admissible in the representation of a Buddhist building. The palace scene from which our illustration is taken has been reproduced in Plate XIV of the "Ajanta Caves" recently published by the India Society, London. The face occurs more than once at Ajanta, the next important specimen being found in Cave II on the first pillar at the right, near the entrance. Thus, it has already become a decoration of temples—a rôle in which it repeatedly figures in the Badami caves and also in various examples of temple architecture in Southern India. Over a panel of a Varaha image in one of the niches of the Durga temple at Aihole (Dharwar District) it appears in its archaic form (Fig. 6) nearly identical with that at Cave I at Ajanta. Having regard to the fact that in the Aihole panel the "face" is associated with a Vishnu figure, it follows that it had by this time ceased to be a sectarian symbol of Śiva. Nevertheless the "gorgon face" has not yet developed the conventional type in which we are familiar with it in later Indian Art. We have a very interesting specimen of the "face" at one of the Śiva temples at Harshanath (Fig. 12) where we find a treatment in which it marks the transitional stage on its way towards evolving the conventional form. The "flying locks" mentioned in the text of the legend find here a very fanciful decorative treatment elaborated in later examples. The artist has depicted in its mouth a pair of serpents and some thread-like ramifications which probably represent its entrails and nether anatomy which it devoured at the bidding of Śiva. We shall be able to trace these thread-like substances in the mouth which in later decorative developments of the figure are changed into festoons of pearls as on the pillars at Badami and also on a pillar of one of the early Chola

temples at Kumbhakonam (Fig. 7). The fact that the symbol has descended from its ordained place of honour at the top of a shrine as found in the earlier examples and has taken its place on pillars as part of the ornamentation of the latter certainly indicates that the Kîrtimukha has become deprived of its original religious or auspicious association and has degenerated into a merely decorative device. As ornamental finials to the "prabhâ-toranas" at the back of sacred images, though primarily fulfilling an artistic function, viz., in breaking up a continuous curve and furnishing a sort of a point or pinnacle to the whole composition (as in Fig. 8), the Kîrtimukha may still be said to be reminiscent of its old auspicious character, though it has absolutely ceased to be an exclusively Saivaite symbol.

As a motif specially sacred to Śiva it now and then appears in later Indian reliefs. One of the most interesting examples is afforded by the stone trisula (Fig. 9) on the stambha of the Śiva temple at Gavigangâ-dhâreswar near Bangalore. Here at the centre of the stone trident are two faces, the upper one of which is easily recognized as the familiar Kîrtimukha, the lower one is probably the face of Virabhadra (one of the many manifestations of Śiva's destructive energy) who performed services at the sacrifice of Dakṣa very similar to that of Kîrtimukha. Before we proceed to follow to "glorious face" in its interesting career outside India, we wish to refer to one or two examples of it occurring in Ceylon. The most important and easily accessible example in Ceylon is met with on the head-gear of the well-known Nâga-dwârapala at Anuradhapura which so significantly recalls the traditions of Chola Sculpture from which the motif in question may have been mechanically borrowed. As to the place of the symbol on the head of the nâga figure—it is evidently a repetition of the practice we have met with in the images of Śiva at Ellora and Elephanta. The other example in Ceylon is offered by the head of a King found near the Thupârâma, Anuradhapura, now in the Colombo Museum. In this example the Kîrtimukha, rather injured near the head, forms a decoration on the crown of the King. The most flagrantly base use of



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 4.

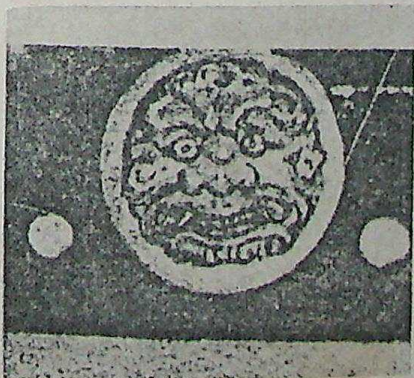


Fig. 5.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 7

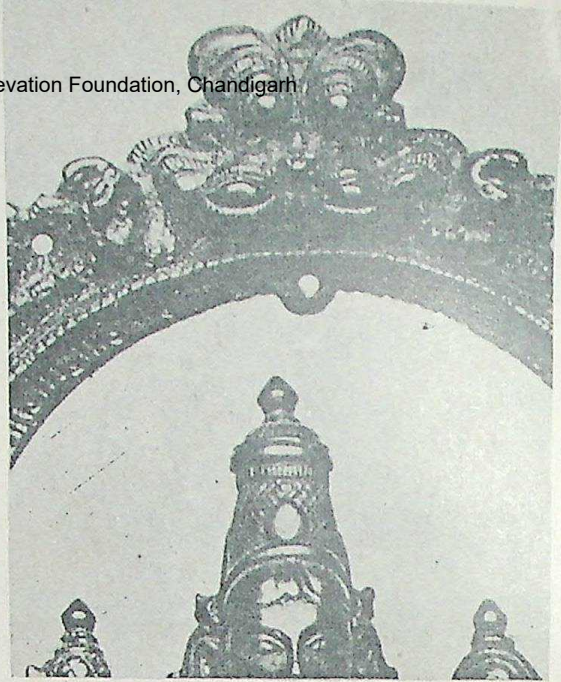


Fig. 8.



Fig. 12.

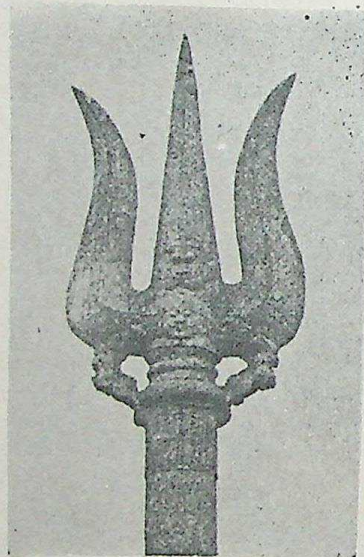


Fig. 9.

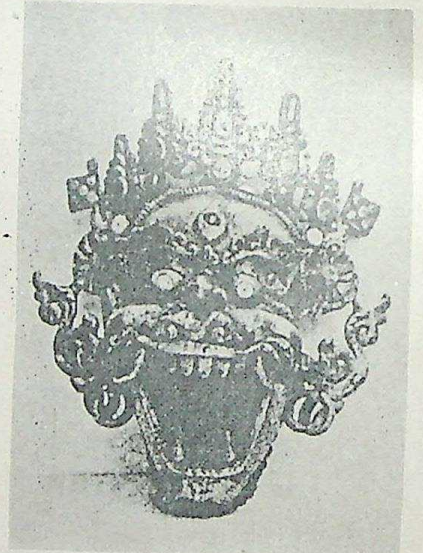


Fig. 11



Fig. 10



Fig : 18.

the Kîrtimukha as a mere ornament without the slightest tinge of any religious feeling is afforded by a stone representation of a bed or a throne where it offers a head-piece for one of the legs of the piece of furniture (Fig. 10).

In Nepalese art we often meet with the lion motif which is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the Kîrtimukha. The brass "lion-face" for the receptacle of sacred wine of tantric rituals (illustrated in Fig. 11) is strongly reminiscent of the traditional form of Kîrtimukha—if not a conscious repetition of the original model. Before we proceed to trace its further developments outside India, it will be useful to take stock of the characteristic elements which constitute the pattern as evolved in the practices of the main continent. It is essentially a lion-face with protruding eyes very closely set and surmounted by a decorative line of triform arch which stands for the eye-brows and which practically ends in a fanciful representation of two horns, below which the two ears are represented. The flying locks are indicated by an ornamental device pictured in waving lines radiating upwards. The rows of teeth displayed by the open mouth are flanked by two curbed tusks (*crura dangstra*) from under which spout two symmetrical festoons of pearls or garlands which later on develop into two long-necked stems ending in "makara" faces, the prototype of which was probably suggested by two small serpents in the earlier specimen illustrated in Fig. 12. In Chalukyan sculpture a pair of makara occurs again and again in juxtaposition with and as part and parcel of the Kîrtimukha, and, as we find in later examples, by constant use the "makaras" become an integral part of the picture of the "glory face." On the "gate of halo" at the back of images the Kîrtimukha is invariably associated with two makaras which radiate from below the face as an organic part of one ornamental design. From the frequent and persistent occurrence of the motif in Chalukyan architecture we find that the design of the "face" has undergone various transformations and stylizations (Figs. 13, 14, 15, and 16), from which, in spite of the variegated forms, a distinctly conventional type

is seen to emerge, of which the example illustrated in Fig. 13 may be taken to represent a standard pattern. It occurs on an angle cornice block of the Kallesvara temple, Huvinahadgalli (Bellari). If we compare this example with the archaic form of its predecessor on the Gupta lintel, we find that, passing through the stage marked by the example at Harshanâth the "glory face" has evolved a distinctly new form which is stereotyped in the numerous repetitions in the Chalukyan temples. Although they occur now and then in various other Southern Indian temples, it is in the temples of Mysore that they have found a congenial soil and a very luxuriant, and even a wild, growth. In Fig. 14 we have an example in which the "makara" motif is found in juxtaposition with the Kîrtimukha. In other temples a pair of radiating leaf-designs, fantastically decorated, takes the place of the "makara" (Fig. 15). In the Chalukyan temples although the "face of fame" (as Dr. Burgess has preferred to call it) often occurs as a finial at the top of reliefs of gods and deities, evidently as an auspicious symbol, we find it often employed on corner-stones and cornices, and it is thus seen here to develop a distinctly architectural function. The form that the motif has attained in the Chalukyan temples as compared with the earlier prototypes amply demonstrates the value of, what Henry Balfour has called, "successive copying" as a factor in the evolution of designs and decorative forms. From the number of times that the device occurs in some of these temples (it might be said with a nauseating repetition), one may be inclined to think that it must have now exhausted its artistic use and was no more capable of any new treatment, and that after the over-abundant use made of it in the Southern Indian temples, the Indian temple-craftsman should be expected to discard the same from his paraphernalia of decorative recipes. But we are surprised to find, it is otherwise.

In many of the temples of Burma we find the Kîrtimukha still persisting as an element in the decorations of the stone reliefs on the walls. A very characteristic example is taken from one of the panels in

reliefs on the Nan-paya temple at Myin-pagan, Burma (Fig. 17). Evidently the "glory face" has not yet lost its vitality and, in the example just referred to, distinctly brightens up and adds to the liveliness of the foliage pattern. It must be noted however that it has not adopted here the conventional mask that it wears on the Chalukyan temples, and though it has not made any violent divergence from the standard type, it has not repeated here the stereotyped pattern in which it has lingered in later temple architecture in the main land. Indeed if we step across to Cambodia, we find that the ornament has in fact acquired a new lease of life in that distant Hindu colony. We have not very many photographs to illustrate the forms in which it has figured in Cambodia... The one in Fig. 18 may be taken as a fairly representative specimen. It is from the lintel over a doorway in one of the ruined temples of Prea-khane in Cambodia. The drawing (Fig. 19) from a doorway of another temple is of extreme interest(1), as here the Kîrtimukha is not merely "a face" but actually reproduces the old legend of the Skandapurâna in its nascent stage. Indeed, the Kîrtimukha has hardly(2) ever been found represented in India with hands, as in the example here, eating up its nether anatomy at the dictate of Siva. So that here, we have, what appears to be for the first time, a graphic illustration of the original legend. Evidently here, the craftsman has used the text of the legend, at first hand, instead of repeating the symbol as an old stock-in-trade of his craft. When it crosses over from Further India to the island of Java, the Kîrtimukha enters upon the most important and interesting phase of its career. In the innumerable examples of it left on the Javanese monuments we not only find it in many of its old habits and associations, but also in many new phases and functions, the most important of which is its newly developed architectural use. It will be apparent from the examples collected here, that the Javanese form well preserves the essential features of its original Indian ancestor. It has certainly acquired in some

(1) With this figure should be compared the example from Java; vide Fig. 32.

(2) Except in the temple of Bhuvaneswar.

of the examples a generalized form (vide Fig. 20) in which the details of the conventional type as it occurs on Indian temples have dropped off, and yet it carries and continues the essential structure of the original form which has not lost its identity. In the examples illustrated in Figs. 20, 21, 22, and 23, the horns are very prominent and specially developed features of the design—though still echoing even in this minor detail the example at Harshanâth (Fig. 12). It must be noted, however, that the horn is not derived from the descriptions of the figures in the Sanskrit text and may have been an innovation introduced by the craftsmen. But the most important feature of the Javanese examples, which presses on the student of art, is the fact of the relative importance and the place the motif has acquired and occupies in the structural design of the Javanese temples. In India, notwithstanding its persistent recurrence, it was after all a very insignificant part, in most cases, a mere surface decoration, of the temples. In the Javanese temples it has not only assumed a gigantic size, but it has taken a place in the construction of the temple, sometimes as a keystone emphasizing the scheme of the structure, and in later times assuming the rôle of archways, the actual architectural links which bind together the most important parts of the structure itself. Lions or hideous human faces, as well as many other kinds of masonic symbols, are used as keystones over arches in European architecture ancient and modern. But the Kîrtimukha as a keystone frequently assumes in Javanese temples a dominating and often highly exaggerated position which sometimes spoils the architectural scheme of the temples, as at Tjandi Singasari. It is difficult to assign the reason of the distinctly dominating character and exaggerated position of honour in which it figures in the temples mentioned above. The examples referred to are mostly hewn out of huge blocks of stones measuring about forty-two inches, the enormous weight of which has proved a strain and a burden on, rather than any assistance to, the structural scheme of the temples. As means of decoration, these

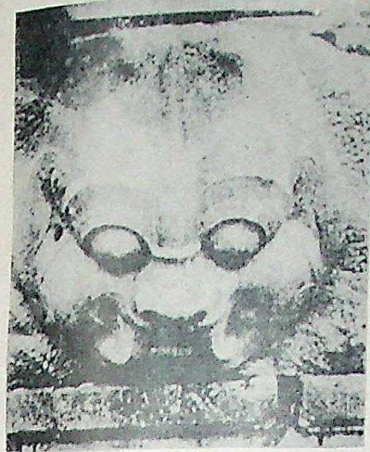


Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.

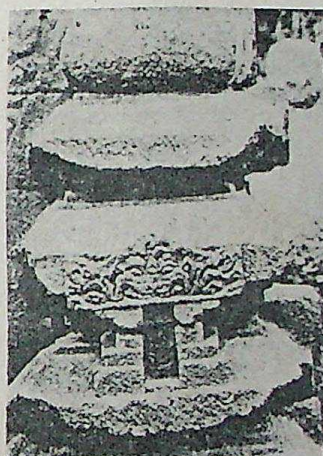


Fig. 24



Fig. 26.



Fig. 25.

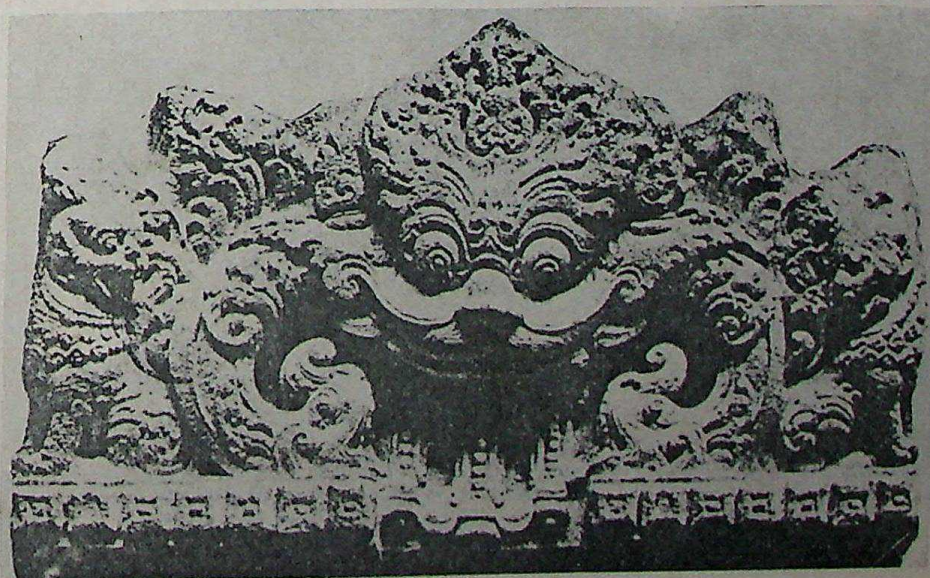


Fig. 27.

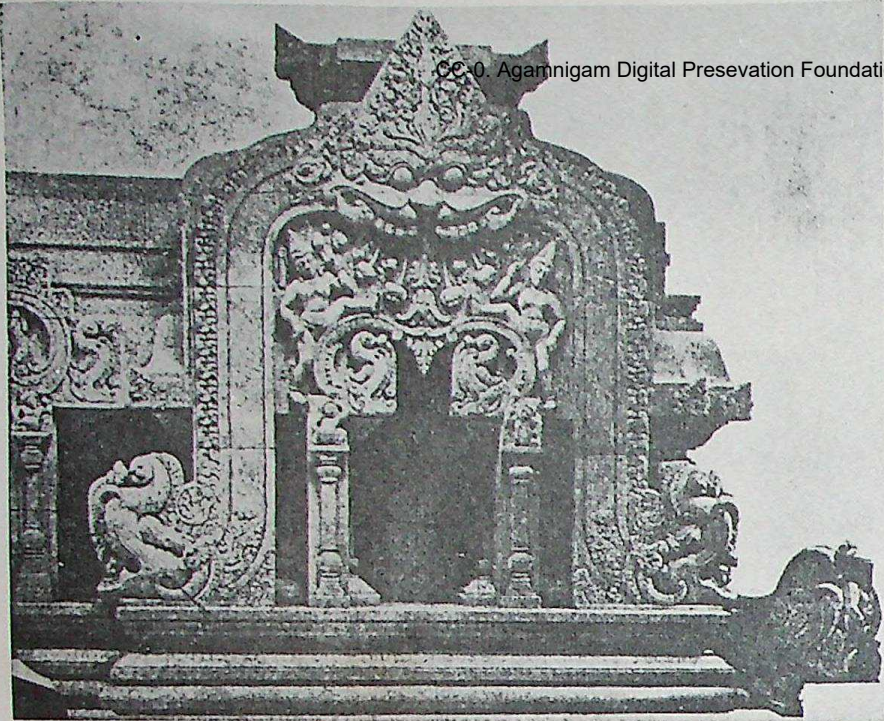


Fig. 29.



Fig. 35.



Fig. 28.

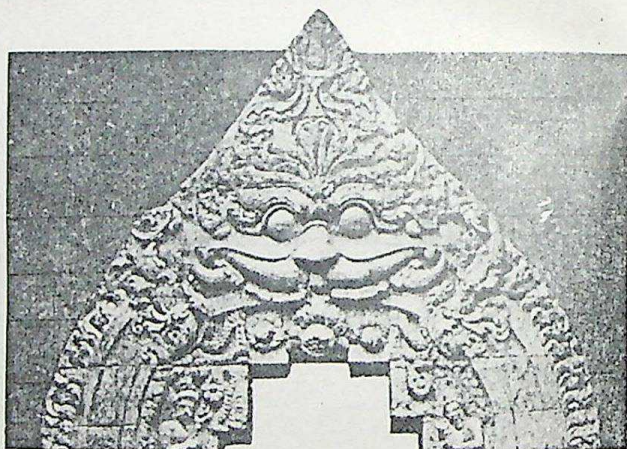


Fig. 31.



Fig. 32.

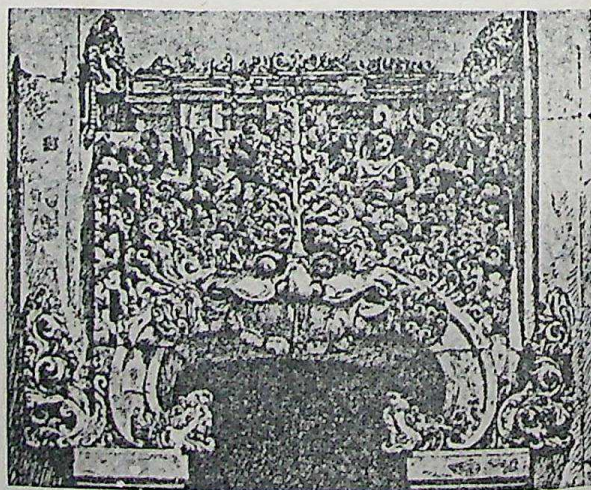


Fig. 30.

particular examples hardly offer a very effective composition though they seem to furnish a certain set-off to the general severity of the design of a class of temples which are devoid of any other ornamentation whatsoever. One is driven to ascribe their exaggerated features and positions in these temples to some unknown masonic symbolism or to their spiritual or religious significance with reference to the cultus to which these temples were devoted. The images inside these temples at Singasari have in almost all cases disappeared. But from the images of Nandiswara, Mahākāla, Bhairaba, Ganesha, Lingams and other quasi-Hindu icons discovered in places adjacent to the locality, the temples of Singasari may be said to have been devoted to the cult of Siva or some Siva-Buddhist form of worship. The Dutch archæologists adopting the native popular tradition have preferred to call these gorgon faces, 'Banaspati' (lit. King of the woods), instead of Kîrtimukha, although no reasons have been assigned for the meaning or significance of the title. If these temples are taken as having been dedicated to Siva, as the other evidences seem to indicate, the exaggerated position given to the image of Kîrtimukha in honour of the memory of the legend of the Skandapurāna is at once explained and becomes quite appropriate and significant. Indeed one of the examples (Fig. 3) on a temple in Toempang in Melang (Java) bears a distinctly Saivaite symbol,—the skull,—and probably emphasizes the Saivaite cult of the temples. Although the Kîrtimukha has figured in more than one function in the monuments of Java it has never wholly lost the sacred symbolism of the old Saivaite legend. This is well illustrated in the example of a very interesting little stone-temple or shrine from Tjandi Singasari (vide Fig. 24) with an empty niche probably for a lingam which is surmounted by a crude carving of the Kîrtimukha much in the same position as that in which it occurs over the doorways to the shrines of many an Indian temple. A more significant illustration is provided by (Fig. 26) (from Tjandi Singasari now in the Batavian Museum*), where the picture

of the "lion face" with its locks "flying upwards" is carved on the body of the lingam itself, thus reproducing the practice of the Indian craftsmen of picturing the device on the locks or head-gears of the images of Siva to which we have already alluded.

Apart from its use as a religious symbol illustrated in the two examples just referred to, the "glory face" is repeatedly introduced by the Javanese artists as an element in their decorative designs. Indeed Kîrtimukha has become the ornament "par excellence" in Javanese Art, where it is seen to enter into a new and active life, quite distinct from its past history as revealed in the Indian monuments. On many of the temples of Java, and principally on those situated at Tjandi Singasari, the face occurs repeatedly as a surface decoration of the entablatures on the upper tiers of the temples (vide Archæologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura II Tjandi Singasari, 1909, plates 27, 28 and 29). A very interesting example of its use as a purely decorative motif is furnished by a triangular surface ornament from Tjandi Panataran (see Fig. 25) where the "face" is introduced into the ornamental scheme with large eyes, practically reproducing the model as it occurs on the temple at Toempang near Melang (vide Fig. 23). In one of the interesting series of panels illustrating scenes from the Ramayana at Tjandi Panataran (Fig. 35) it is introduced as a sort of an ornamental stop-gap to fill up the upper part of the composition, the figure of the "glory face" being set in conjunction with two deer heads instead of the usual pair of "makaras" so common in so many of the examples cited.

In the specimens which we have been now considering, the most characteristic feature common to them is the impression which they give us of a very ugly demoniac head repellent and grotesque in the crude treatment accorded to it by the artists, who made no attempt,—at any rate in the examples cited hitherto,—to modify or tone down its terrible aspects. In some later examples (Figs. 27, 28, and 29), the artists have given it a more refined treatment. These occur in most of the temples in Central Java and principally in the temples of Tjandi Kali Bening, Tjandi Plaosan and Tjandi

* It bears an inscription dated 1238 Saka (1361 A.D.).

Sewoe in which the refreshingly delicate treatment of the head offers an agreeable contrast to the grotesque and repellent effects of the examples previously cited. In the head of the so-called "Banapati" from Tjandi Sewoe (Fig. 28), the motif has evolved a type which very nearly approaches the zenith of its artistic possibility. By the frequency with which it has been used to decorate the top of niches, it has developed, side by side with its finely artistic form, a function of great structural value to the architecture of the temples. As an indispensable ornament to decorate the upper part of niches and arches it gradually develops into the arch itself, in which the "head" forms the keystone and the two radiating necks terminating in "makaras" constitute the two abutments. The most typical example of this novel use is here borrowed from Tjandi Kali Bening, near Kalasan (Fig. 30). It is not until its purely decorative and artistic feature, with all the exuberance of legendary or fanciful suggestion, combines with its structural or constructive function, that the Kirtimukha realises the supreme crowning moment of its life and may be said to have attained the apex of its career. For, in its capacity as an arch, it acquires an element of strength, which combines with its life of beauty to develop it into a full-fledged complex organism of an artistic design. In earlier examples at Borobodoer (Fig. 31), we find, the Kirtimukha figures in an experimental stage of what is known as the "horizontal" arch so frequently used by the architects of the Indian continent.

The history of this interesting design, so far as we have been able to trace it in this imperfect sketch, divides itself into three distinct stages—the earliest or the infant stage being illustrated in some of the oldest Hindu temples in India which survive in the examples of the Gupta period. The second stage is reached in its active career as a decorative element chiefly in the Southern Indian temples, the most wild and luxuriant life being met with in the Mandirs of the Chalukyan school. The most interesting part of its life was undoubtedly developed in its career outside India. Throughout all the three stages it underwent not only trans-

formations in its form and design but also evolved novel functions and uses. From the severe and almost crude outline of its primitive form (of which we have been able to trace only one survivor) it grew into a complex and highly organised design. But it was only after its migration from its mother country that it has been able to reach the height of its destined career. By a change of habitat, it not only widened its geographical distribution, but also enriched the composition of its design by a refined and highly developed æsthetic form which in its popular interpretation, as the "Spirit of woods" (Banapati), has enjoyed a very interesting reign over the Hinduized Javanese mind, as the symbol of a beautiful idea revealed and clothed in a terrible shape. It is impossible to say if the migration from the Indian continent was by sea or land as the archæological evidences shew that many of the art forms of India have travelled to Java both by sea and land; the footprints on the inland route, we can unmistakably trace in some of the monuments of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Sumatra. In the arts of these countries and of Java, we find, the form of Kirtimukha has attained a re-birth, as it were, for, if we take the realistic representation of the face (as illustrated in Fig. 32) as a type, we find that it does not repeat the conventionalized pattern which it developed in its former birth in the various examples in the Chalukyan temples of the Indian continent, but that it opened a new career for itself, starting from a graphic and realistic presentation of the picture as narrated in the Sanskrit legend. Even in its conventionalized form as illustrated in the decoration of the Nan-paya temple (Fig. 17), it offers variations which cannot be said to be derived from successive copying of the patterns of India proper. So that the examples of this decorative device met with outside India cannot be said to be derived by a direct line of descent from the patterns of the main land. Nevertheless, this ornament has practically dominated the designs of Indo-Javanese Art for several centuries. But, as soon as it attains the height of its career, it suddenly vanishes out of existence and becomes extinct, as it were, before

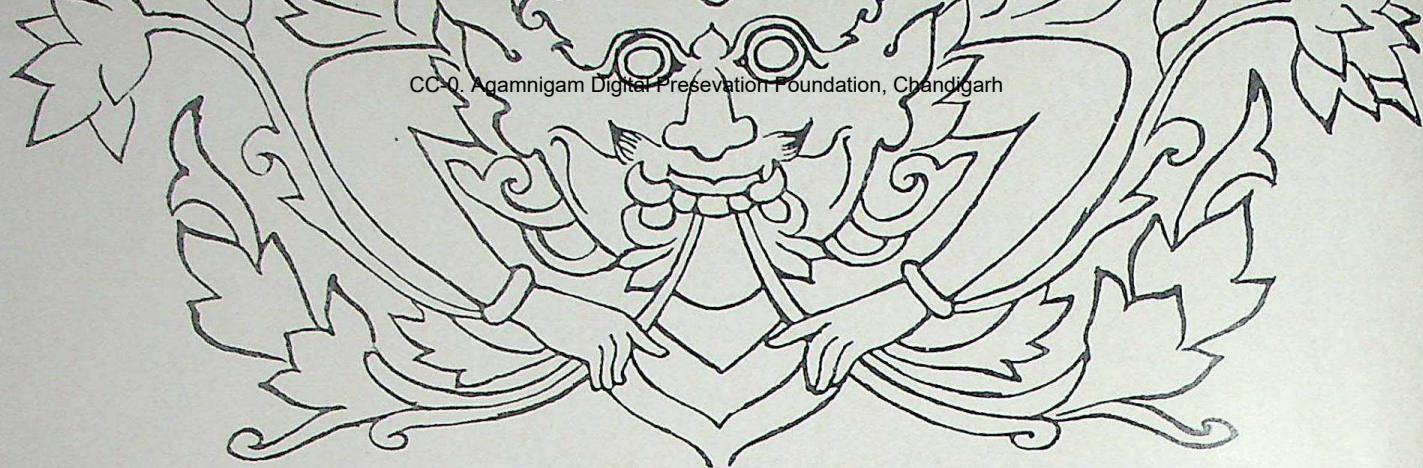


Fig. 19.

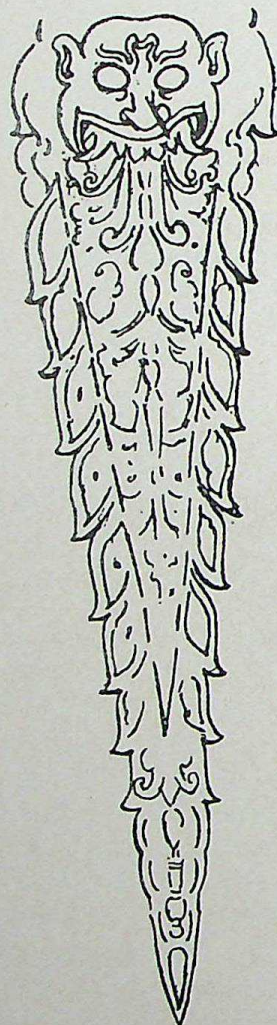


Fig. 17.

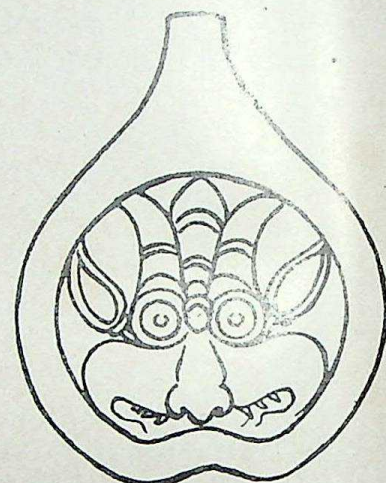


Fig. 16.

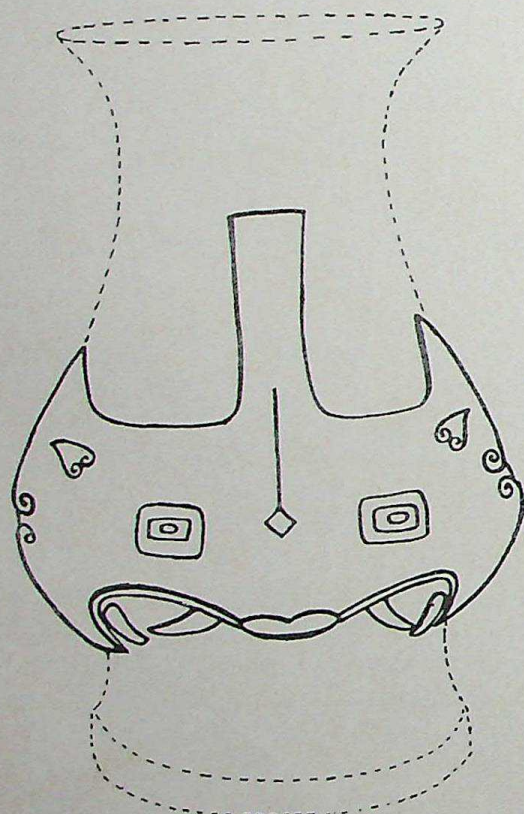


Fig. 34.



Fig. 33.



Fig : 14.



Fig : 13.

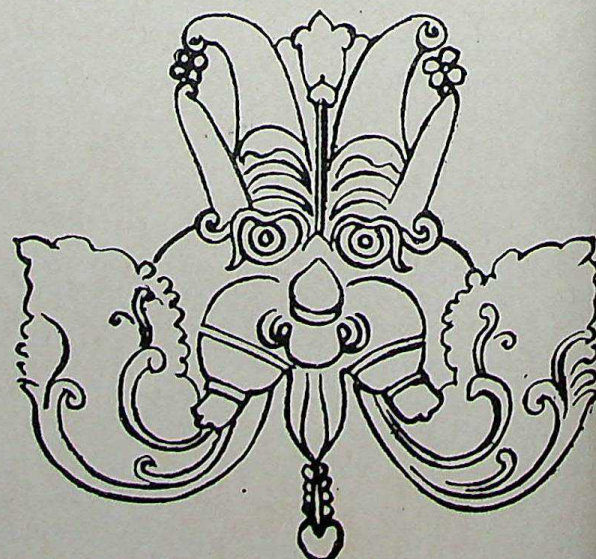


Fig : 15.

attaining its age of senility and decay. Indeed this fact is curiously symbolical of the history of Javanese Art itself, for, with the fall of Hindu dominion in Java, the activity of Indo-Javanese Art becomes suddenly arrested and it dies an untimely death in the full glory and splendour of its power without having to traverse the painful path of decay or degradation.

To come back to the Kîrtimukha in the Indian continent, we find that in later Indian Art it has survived only as an auspicious symbol on the head-piece of "prabhâtoranas" on images. They occur profusely in mediæval as well as later icons of the Hindus and Buddhists in Bengal. In the metal images of the Southern Indian school, they still persist in the same capacity—but as an architectural device it has long ceased to be popular and seems to have been banished altogether from later architectural practices.

In the present state of Indian archæology it is impossible to trace the genealogy of this ornament back to its pre-historic days. Yet, there is food enough for the sceptic, who will refuse to accept the form of the ornament as of essentially Indian origin, to consider if it has any extra-Indian association, and if so with what older Asiatic forms it may be taken to be affiliated. We have not at our disposal adequate materials to pursue the enquiry, but the accompanying drawing (Fig. 33) borrowed from an old Chinese design is pregnant with many suggestions. It has more than an accidental resemblance to Kîrtimukha both in its

fundamental outline and its conventional representation in which the features of the original "lion face" have been skilfully dissembled. As a matter of fact, this is known in China as "T'ao-t'ieh" or monster face, and it constitutes the basis of most of the early ornaments in Chinese Art. It repeatedly occurs in Chinese sacrificial vessels and bowls, some of which are as old as the sixth century B.C. A very interesting example is offered by a sacrificial wine vase with the figure of "T'ao-t'ieh" (Fig. 34) which is regarded as the special monster of old bronzes. According to M. Chavannes, the design "was used on early ritual vessels with the idea of terrifying and dispelling malignant spirits who might trouble the sacrifice." The idea may be akin to that symbolized by the Javanese under the name of "Banaspati." It is possible that this form as an inevitable component in decorative designs of religious and ritual accessories was a persistent and an ever present element in all forms of Asiatic Art, including Vedic or pre-historic Indian Art, which the Indian iconographer, when he set to compile or compose the Skandapurâna, could not ignore or explain away, and he may have been compelled to weave an interesting legend round a form which was already existing. So that the Kîrtimukha may have had an earlier history before the legend of the Indian purâna may be said to have been foisted upon it, and its decorative or magical use was possibly an established fact before the paurânic symbolism was read into it.

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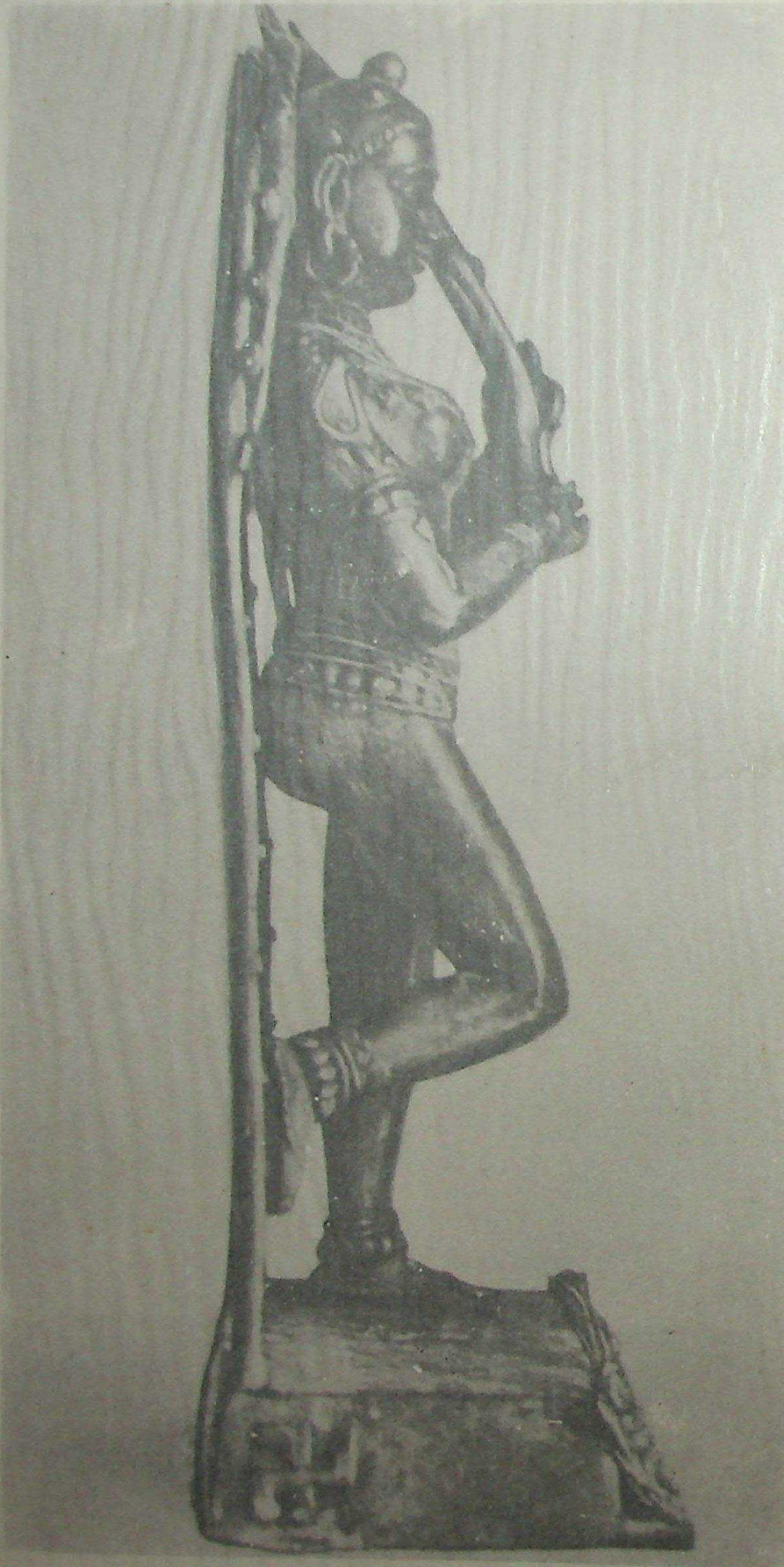
Heliog Dujardin Paris

Ern. Lerous Edit.

L-A BRASS STATUETTE FROM MATHURA.

IT is somewhat of a paradox to assert that, inspite of the attention that archæologists have lavished on it, the Old School of Sculpture at Mathura has not yet been "discovered," much less appreciated. In taking stock of the numerous bonds and ties with which the Mathura school is supposed to have been related to the Gandhara school, archæologists have succeeded in ignoring, and even evading, the study of the indigenous and inherent qualities of the great School of Sculpture which existed and flourished at Mathura from very ancient periods. The archæological evidences of the past remain carry the antiquity of the school to remote times. During the supremacy of the Kushans, the School of Sculpture, perhaps, entered into the most active part of its career and came to occupy its place as the most important seat and centre of the art of the sculptor and image-maker, which supplied, for centuries, the demands of the most remote parts of Northern and North-Eastern India. The discovery of many images inscribed with the names of the sculptors from Mathura, at Sarnath (Benares), and other distant cities, particularly at Kasia and at Jetavana, has abundantly proved the popularity of the sculptors of Mathura and the extension of their tradition far beyond the limits of the old city. That the school at Mathura early came in contact with the Hellenistic masons of Gandhara, who for a time at least overran the indigenous traditions, cannot perhaps be doubted, but the examples of the school, studied only in the cross-breeds of the Hellenistic types, could only misrepresent the true and real achievement of the local artists, who founded a school long before the Hellenistic invasion and whose achievements and works far outlived in time and in geographical extension the short-lived career of the Hellenistic wave. The "Herakles and the Nemean lion" can no more picture to us the achievements of Mathura than the immortal pictures from Persia could convey to us the characteristic production of the local Indian artist of the Mughal court. And unfortunately, the many remains of Mathura sculpture have been too often

regarded as an adjunct and an unimportant pendant to Gandharan art to leave any room for an independent and unbiassed study of its own individual merits. But the indigenous school has been of much too pronounced and rampant a character to be ignored even by archæologists preoccupied with Hellenistic achievements. And many of the indigenous type of female figures on the carved railings of the Kushana period have demanded and wrenched from this class of students considerable attention, and extracted from them a somewhat reluctant concession that beneath the crust of Hellenistic influence ran the continuation of the tradition of the old Indian Art of Bharhut and Sanchi. Anyhow the wide extension and the long continuity of the Mathura School of Sculpture is recognised by all schools of critics. And though actual evidences do not carry it beyond the Gupta epoch, there is no doubt that it persisted many centuries later. The brass statuette from the collection of Mr. Werner Reinhart, reproduced in the frontispiece, helps to carry down the story of Mathura sculpture to a very late time as our present study of this interesting image will seek to demonstrate. It is not claimed that the plasticity of the image illustrated in the two accompanying plates is of a very high order. The chief interest of the figure lies in the continuity of the female type with which old sculptors of Mathura have made us familiar in the curved figures of "Yakshis" on the railings of the Kushana period. The convention of the pose of the type figure is no doubt borrowed from Sanskrit literature, in which the poetic tradition of the Asoka tree being made to flower by the magic touch of the left foot of a beautiful lady is continually alluded to. And the type of a beautiful lady afterwards came to be represented in art in the conventional pose with her left foot bent and in contact with a tree. With this convention is intimately associated the type known to archæologists as the "tree and the woman" motif, which it was vainly sought to derive from classical models, with which some critics were anxious to seek analogies as if to deprive India of any



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originality in its conception. Professor Foucher was the first to draw the attention of European students to the old Indian poetic tradition as underlying the peculiar pose of some of the types of figures at Mathura, particularly in connection with a piece of rail now in the Mathura Museum, and which we hope to reproduce in some future number. There is no doubt that all the later figures are derived from the model representing a lady under the Asoka tree, as the gracious pose of the figure bending its leg against the tree offered a very tempting presentation of female form, which was immediately accepted as a very attractive convention in which to picture the type of beautiful ladies. Ultimately it became the common accepted formula of representing generally a female figure.

If we remember this interesting history of the type of these figures, it shall not be necessary for us to seek any particular significance in the pose of the brass statuette, which, as we shall presently see, is an image and not the portrait of a lady. Our statuette is a solid piece of casting probably of *asta-dhātu*, an amalgam of eight metals, which corresponds to the practice of the Southern Indian image founders who use an amalgam of five metals (*panchaloha*) as distinguished from the eight metals of Upper India. Although a long surviving school of stone craftsmen existed in Mathura, and in its neighbourhood, we have had very little evidence of metal founders in Mathura in ancient times. Indeed, it is not until the sixteenth century that Mathura became the centre of production of numerous metal images, chiefly Vaishnavite, and most of the later metal images in the northern part of India up to the present time are supposed to have come from Mathura. The style of our brass statuette precludes any date being ascribed to it earlier than the eighteenth century, and very probably it belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century. The cult of Krishna (which recent investigations have traced as existing in Mathura as far back as the centuries previous to the Christian era) underwent very rich development under the influence of the Bengali Gossains of Brindaban from about the end of the sixteenth century

and had encouraged a revival of temple-building, and also of image-making both in stone and metal. And although this late revival hardly succeeded in awakening the best traditions of Mathura sculpture—which must have been extinct long ago—it must have recalled the memory of old masterpieces, as it seems to have done in the example of our brass statuette which, though leaning distinctly towards late Vaishnavite images, still carries in the convention of its beautiful pose the echo of the types created by the old masters of Mathura. Indeed, if we had no other evidence of its provenance, the pose of the figure will undoubtedly carry us to the old school of Mathura, and thus offer an infallible guide in tracing the place of its origin.

The study of the iconography of the image is, however, attended with difficulties and is less easy than the study of its plastic conception. Here we have the figure of a woman (seventeen inches in height) standing, with a crudely devised semi-circular halo at the back, on the stem of which she rests her leg: she holds in her hands a branch of a tree which goes round her head. The stem of the branch is planted on a lotus cup from which a little serpent lifts its hood. The face is a close reproduction of types of "Krishna and Radha," and specially the top knot of hair on the head is particularly reminiscent of Krishna figures. Very probably the image was cast by founders accustomed to fashion images of Krishna and Radha. It is, however, difficult to associate the conception with any form of Vaishnava cult. The clue to the identity of the image has to be sought in the series of crude representations on the pedestal on which the figure is standing and on which are two Swastika symbols. One could easily recognise among them the four-handed figures, Bramha, Shiva and Vishnu, and also the figures of Ganesha and the Moon which are placed between them. It is somewhat difficult to resist the temptation of identifying the image as the incarnation of "*Mâyâ*," the Cosmic Illusion of Vedantic doctrine. According to the latter, the phenomenal world does not exist; it is only *Mâyâ* arising from *Avidyâ* (ignorance) that makes us erroneously think it to be real. From the



time of the Rig Veda (V. 31, 7) Mâyâ* has been pictured as a young woman, and the same imagery seems to have descended through the Vedantic as well as the Pauranic conceptions. As the connotation of the word "Mâyâ" is the illusion created by the magical charm of the sense-world, the figure of a beautiful lady is an appropriate form of her symbol. A cult image embodying in a concrete form the philosophic conception of Mâyâ is such an unknown thing in Indian iconology that it is easy to find fault with this identification. Why the incarnation of Mâyâ should be placed above the plane occupied by the Pauranic deities is not easy to explain, unless Mâyâ is taken to be conceived as the "Mula Prakriti," the primordial essence from which all beings, including all forms of god, derive their substance and origin. Tantric hagiology seems to offer more convenient texts to explain the conception of our image. The verses from Tantra-sâra describing Bhubaneswari seem to supply the somewhat nearest literary parallel to the icon: "Thou art the primordial One, Mother of countless creatures, Creatrix of the bodies of the Lotus-born, Vishnu, and Shivam, who creates, preserves, and destroys the three worlds. O Mother! By hymning Thy praise I purify my speech Although Thou art the primordial Cause of the world, yet art Thou ever youthful. I call to my mind Thy two thighs, which humble the pride of the trunk of an elephant, and surpass the plantain tree in thickness and tenderness. O Mother! Youth has fashioned those thighs, that they may support as two pillars the weight of Thy great hips" (Arthur Avalon, "Hymns to the Goddess," 1913, pp. 32-40). The four hands which the hymn ascribes to Bhubaneswari unfortunately destroy the parallel and forbid the

identification. The hymn to Jagadambikâ (mother of the world) may be offered as an alternative identification. "It is by Thy power only that Bramha creates, Vishnu maintains, and at the end of things Shiva destroys the universe. Powerless are they for this but by Thy help. Therefore it is that Thou alone art the Creatrix, Maintainer, and Destructress of the world" ("Hymns to the Goddess," p. 147). There are various other forms pictured in the hymns which, though offering a close parallel, do not help the identification. Two of the nearest parallels are Lalitâ and Tripurâsundari, "The spouse of the Three-eyed One, who should be meditated upon as in the first flush of her nubile youth, the weight of whose breasts are garlanded with glittering gems." In the absence of the exact Dhyâna or contemplative verse, such iconographic guesses could be carried to wearisome extent, but enough has been said to suggest the meaning and conception of the icon. That an image, probably in a new form, should have been continued to be pictured so late as the nineteenth century proves that India has never been able to shake off her old habit of iconising her philosophical concepts, and the little brass statuette is a very interesting specimen of very late examples of such icons. It is not wholly devoid of æsthetic effect, notwithstanding its obviously crude technique. There is a youthful simplicity, a naïve directness and an absence of affectation very well gleaned from the second plate, while the frontispiece offers a dignity in its charming profile not often met with in more finished examples. The Indian artist very often reaches a point where reality touches distortion under the exigencies of the subject illustrated. But this exaggeration of form does not always transgress the limits of naturalism. And when he chooses, or, more accurately, when his subject so demands, the Indian artist can also woo form with caresses, as it can be legitimately claimed he has done in the present example.

* Mâyâ is the power by which things are measured, that is, formed, manifested and made known.

II.—ART AND CRAFTSMANSHIP.

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

IN reply to the enquiry, What is art? an answer may be made as follows: Art is the involuntary dramatisation of subjective experience. In other words, the crystallisation of a state of mind in images (whether visual, auditory or otherwise). This excludes from art the practical activity of mere illustration, which involves only the combination of empirical observation with skill of craftsmanship. Even the setting down on paper of the signs, lines, words, musical notes, etc., that serve to communicate æsthetic experience, or the transmission of such an experience by the indications of gesture, or audible sounds, is a practical activity⁽¹⁾ to be distinguished from that of creation. However swiftly the record may follow on the heels of the single spiritual activity of intuition-expression, it is always the externalisation of an already completed cycle. The words of a poem, the lines of a drawing, are not expressive: they are the catalytic stimuli to a renewed æsthetic activity, or expression, on the part of the hearer. It is therefore by ellipsis that we call them expressive, as it is by ellipsis that we speak of a physical work of art as beautiful. It is scarcely needful to add that questions of personal taste or interest have nothing to do with æsthetic values, however legitimately they may govern conduct.

The element of skill enters only into the voluntary practical activity of externalisation, the use of the language of stimulation. We cannot measure qualities of art by measuring degrees of skill. In fact, there are no degrees of art: nor is it possible to speak of a progress or degeneration of art, in individuals or schools, as we can speak of progress or loss in the realm of knowledge, technique and skill. In the words of Blake: "The human mind cannot go beyond the gift of God, the Holy Ghost. To suppose that art can go beyond the finest specimens of art that are now in the world

is not knowing what art is; it is being blind to the gifts of the Spirit." Wagner and Raphael are not necessarily superior to Palaestrina and Giotto because of their more elaborate technique or superior facility. We can only ask,—In which have we evidence of most profound vision? which of these artists is the greater vessel? For this is what we really mean when we relinquish our preoccupation with the accidentals of technique and accomplishment, and still observe that at various moments in the history of an individual or of a school there is a varying degree of vision. This is not a variability of art, but of the individual. Two men at the same time, or one man at different times, may go down to the sea, with a bucket or a cup, and bring back a bucketful or a cupful of water: but each brings back the same water, whether the vessels be large or small, of gold or clay. In other words, however broad or narrow, noble or ignoble, the subject of the art, however elegant or crude the language, art is always recognizable as art. All that we can demand of an artist is that he should offer us living water: for this water has a miraculous quality, and even though it be offered in a thimble it will fill a bowl. One can only say that there are greater and lesser artists, as there are greater and lesser lovers: but we can no more speak of progress in art than we could speak of progress in love.

If Mrs. Eddy speaks of the same truth that Jesus speaks of, it is not because of her defective literary education that she fails to touch us, but because of the less intensity or clarity of her experience. The most awkward means are adequate to the communication of authentic experience, and the finest words no compensation for the lack of it. It is for this reason that we are moved by the true Primitives and that the most accomplished art craftsmanship leaves us cold.

It is as hard for the learned artist as for the rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. In saying this, we need not forget that the gates are as widely opened to

(1) In Kinema phraseology, that of "registering."

the learned and the rich as to the illiterate and the poor. If anything, too little honour has been paid to craftsmanship and knowledge in recent times. Skill and sophistication, learning and wealth, are neither good nor bad in themselves—that is to say, they can be used or misused. And both are relative terms. Most great artists have been learned in their own time and place (Giotto was acclaimed as a realist), and there is nothing in the coincidence of the external signs of art with the

dimensional aspect of nature, which of itself precludes the possibility of communicating by such signs an authentic spiritual experience. We cannot separate the tares from the wheat by distinguishing a naturalistic from a symbolic language. It is not by an intellectual or categorical activity that we can judge of the intensity of any artist's vision. We cannot judge except by our response; and whether or not we can respond will depend on our own state of grace.

III.—THE CONTINUITY OF PICTORIAL TRADITION IN THE ART OF INDIA.

By E. VREDENBURG.

(Concluded from last issue.)

CONSIDERING the wealth of minutely detailed information that has been transmitted to us by the historians of the Mughal period regarding the court painters of the emperors, and even by the emperors themselves in their memoirs, it is astonishing how anyone could maintain that Mughal painting had a Persian origin. But, apart from all these historical documents, the internal evidence of the paintings themselves is so clear as to render the Persian theory simply inexcusable.

It is clear that if Mughal painting and late mediæval Persian art differ to such an extent that the one cannot possibly be derived from the other, then the only reasonable conclusion is that Mughal art represents the continuation of an indigenous Indian tradition. It does not need close attention to discover the uncompromising contrast between Persian and Mughal art. About the only point of resemblance is that they both take the form principally of book illustration and miniature painting. Apart from this quite superficial resemblance they differ totally in their aims and methods. Persian art of the later middle ages is replete with artificiality, conventionality, and mannerism. I do not wish to imply anything disparaging. Its qualities entitle it to a rank amidst the great art schools of the world. With the means which they have adopted, Persian artists have produced

works of the highest merit, not only for their unequalled harmony of colour, but also for qualities of composition and expression of unsurpassed excellence. Indian painting, on the contrary, whether at Ajanta or in the Mughal pictures, is far more realistic. This realism does not exclude a studied grace which, nevertheless, does not degenerate into pronounced mannerism. Indian painting may be full of refinement and distinction, but it does not attempt to depart from the appearances of nature. Indeed, inspite of all the dithyrambs that have been sung in praise of the superhuman tendencies of Indian art, it must be admitted that at Ajanta and elsewhere it is remarkably closely related both in spirit and method to many of the most approved aspects of Western art. In the bitter controversies regarding the merits of Indian art, those who condemn the Indian ideal from the narrow point of view of Renaissance pseudo-classicism seem to forget that at the same time they implicitly condemn more than half of the art of Europe, in particular all the mediæval schools. Yet there are many European art critics, and amongst the ablest, who not only think highly of Western mediæval art, but who would even rank it above the art of the Greek period or Renaissance.

The later mediæval art of Persia differs very widely in spirit from the art of India

and Europe though not without some points of contact with Western mediæval painting. On the whole its affinity is very close with the art of the Far East. While the art of India and Europe can always be looked upon as an interpretation of nature, Persian art is more of a paraphrase. Both points of view have their advantages, both have their dangers. The Indian painter has not always avoided the dangers inherent to his qualities, and in the hands of indifferent artists his naturalistic tendencies are apt to degenerate into dulness.

The spirit of Persian painting is strongly personal and individualistic, and is entirely opposed to the elaborate system of "division of labour" which we know from uncontrovertible historical evidence to have prevailed amongst the painters of the Mughal court. A certain amount of collaboration might, perhaps, be possible in Persian painting, but if the art had been introduced at the Mughal court by Persian masters their influence could never have originated anything approaching the system which we know to have existed.

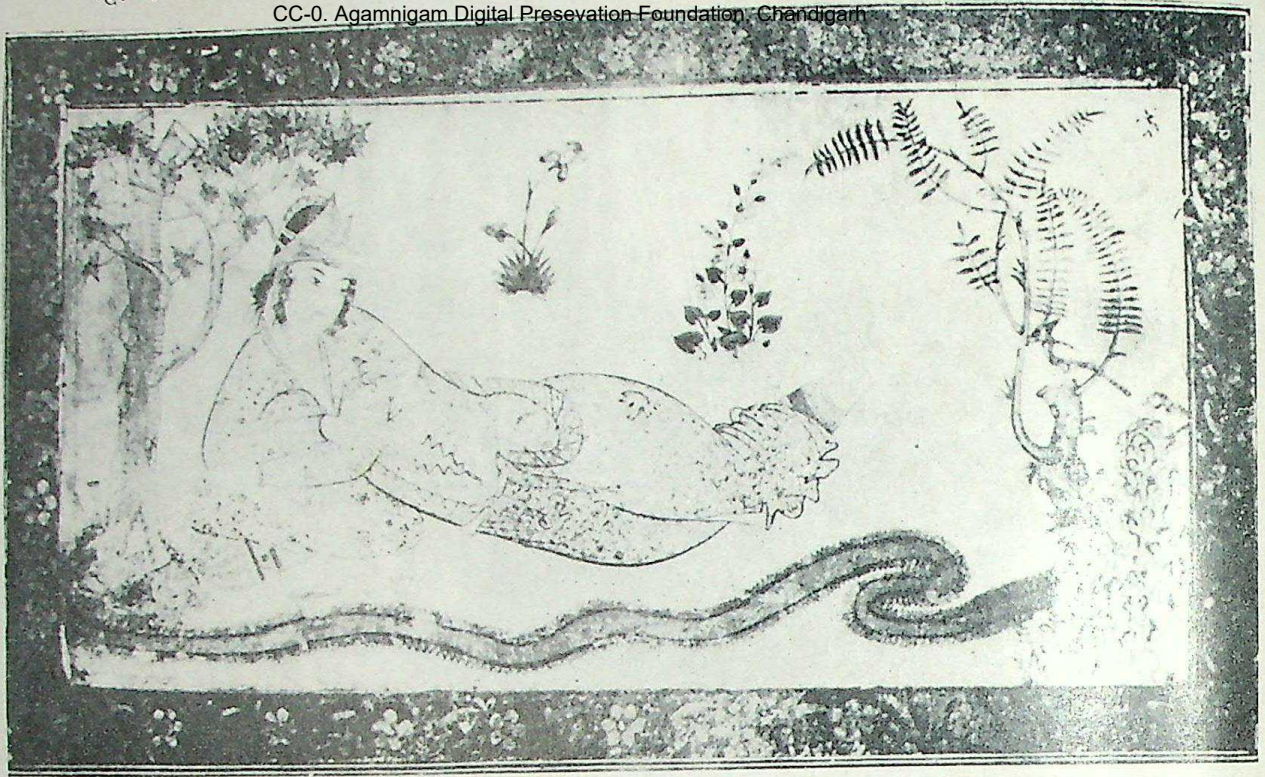
I have laid stress upon the difference in the spirit of the work, because I consider that it is of supreme importance and far transcends the consideration of technical peculiarities. Moreover, it is a difference based on art traditions, more than on racial peculiarities. There is nothing in the culture or literature of Persia that differs from India so radically as to have originated these differences in pictorial art, though probably certain national peculiarities may have contributed to perpetuate the contrast when once established. The immediate cause of the difference is that Persian art in the thirteenth and fourteenth century was literally overwhelmed by Mongolian influence which established locally a lasting art tradition that has remained totally ignored by India. When from the spirit of the work we direct our attention to the form, the difference is evident at the merest glance. First of all, the Persian artist is essentially a calligrapher, the Indian artist, primarily a draughtsman. However much the style might become influenced by local factors, it seems incredible that the one system could have developed into the other

without a transitional phase if the Mughal artists had really been at the school of a Persian master. Like the Chinese artist, it is only after he has mastered calligraphy that the Persian artist becomes a draughtsman. The art of the Mughal painter, even in its masterpieces of minute precision, is not necessarily that of the calligrapher. The Indian artist may acquire the most surprising dexterity in line-drawing, yet the meaning of the line is to a great extent different in the art of India as compared with that of Persia or China. Without implying undue generalisation it might be said that the art of Persia and China is essentially an art of line, that of India an art of outline. The line in Persia and in China is self-sufficient; its intervals may be more or less filled in with colour, but this is not essential. In India, the object of the line is to add precision to shapes primarily defined by tinted surfaces: as has already been said, its function is that of an outline. These differences of function are not rigidly adhered to in actual practice. It is quite usual in Persian pictures to find the lines superimposed upon a patch of colour, and there exist innumerable Indian line drawings of unsurpassed excellence without any colouring. Yet the feeling is different. It may be said that the line of the Indian artist bounds a surface, the line of the Persian (or of the Far Eastern) artist merely helps to define certain divisions of space.

The wonderful colour harmonies of the Persian pictures are not essential to Persian drawing and are only a beautiful background over which meanders the all-important line.* Nothing could be more different or

* It is impossible not to marvel at the naïve assertions of so-called art critics who insist that modern European painting by "touch" or mass has been "evolved" from line drawing. There are no lines in nature. Objects appear as shaded surfaces. The line represents an intellectual abstraction, and therefore, a far more advanced stage of art development than the representation of objects by means of tints. The beautiful paintings of geological antiquity in the Altamira cave, which may be 10,000 or 15,000 years old, are executed all in shaded mass, without line. A style of painting such as the line drawing of ancient Egypt is not "primitive." It is an art not only highly evolved,

Fig. 1.



Balkis, Queen of Saba

Early 16th Century.

Fig. 2.



Two Moghul Princesses

Late 18th Century (?).

indeed more contrasted than the manner in which facial features are treated respectively by the Persian and Indian. The Persian adopts a process of extreme simplification. A single stroke often suffices for the mouth. The eye may be indicated by two strokes which are not even joined, or even by merely a stroke and a dot. [Vide Fig. 1.]

The force and variety of expression which the Persian artist obtains even in figures drawn on the smallest scale by means of what might be described as this short-hand method is simply astounding, and is clearly an inheritance from the Far East transmitted to him through Mongolian art. The West can scarcely show anything comparable unless it be, on a lower plane, in the work of some continental caricaturists of the nineteenth century. The Mughal artist draws every feature with a minute accuracy which on the small scale of some of the figures may even be regarded as waste of labour. In drawing the mouth he invariably gives a full outline of both lips. In his admirable representation of the eye, not only does he carefully outline the eyelashes, but the eyelid is invariably drawn with marvellous precision and correctness. [Vide Fig. 2.]

In his extreme elaboration of the handsome features with which he endows his personages, the Mughal artist is usually satisfied with an agreeably placid countenance, and seldom even approaches the dramatic force of the Persian although incomparably more correct in anatomy. Just like the Greek of the classic period, the Mughal artist frequently allows his sense of physical beauty to interfere with his power

but one which has long passed its prime, which is bound up in the formulas of decadent conventionalism, and totally incapable of further evolution. It is inconceivable that an art entirely of line could ever again evolve into an art of mass. Where such an apparent evolution has occurred, it is that the mass method had survived side by side with the line system. There are innumerable instances in which artistic fitness demands the rendering by touch as preferable to that by line, but the modern modelled picture after the manner of the Renaissance school is no "evolution" from line. The greatest masters in the West have used either line or touch with equal success, according to the exigencies of each particular style of work.

of expression. As the scale of the picture increases, the Persian is apt to induce flimsiness; as it becomes reduced, the Indian method may lead to over-elaboration. For us, the essential point to be considered is that we can scarcely think of two methods more radically opposed. The Mongolian artists have introduced into Persian painting a Tartar type of features utterly different from the usual countenance of the Iranians, the persistence of which constitutes one of the most curious features of later mediæval Persian art. The artist sometimes tries to indicate racial differences by altering the obliquity of the eyes or the colour of the complexion, yet without ever freeing himself from the stereotyped Mongolian countenance. Here at least he is at a great disadvantage as compared with the Mughal painter whose admirable rendering of individual and racial characteristics is one of his chief glories.

It is unnecessary to analyse in full detail the other differences that distinguish Indian from Persian painting. The most casual attention will show that they are as startling as those that distinguish the rendering of the countenance. The correct proportions of the human figure are invariably adhered to in Mughal drawing, while the Persian allows himself an extraordinary degree of liberty in the proportions and delineation of limbs. Mention has already been made of the mannered action of the Persian personages, as contrasted with the natural, sometimes commonplace attitudes of the Indian. The Indian readily admits a discreet use of modelling which the Persian avoids as much as possible. The rendering of landscape and architecture in Persian art is conventional and at the same time fantastic in the extreme, though highly effective. In Mughal art, it is strictly realistic, just as might be expected from a survival of the primitive and early mediæval Indian tradition. From the time of Jehangir and Shah Jehan, it becomes obviously blended with European models in such a manner that it is often difficult to estimate the due share of each influence. The interpretation of architecture and vegetation in the Ajanta style comes already so near to the spirit of Western methods

that an almost complete fusion in these particulars is what would be expected as soon as the Indian artist became familiar with Western works. The Indian artist of the time of Akbar is in full possession of a well-established technique, which he applies with an ease and mastery that could only have been acquired by long familiarity as transmitted from generation to generation. The technique is of a kind that he could not have learnt from Persia, and as we know of no other source whence it could have been obtained, we are driven to the conclusion that it is indigenous.

The independence of style maintained by the Mughal school appears all the more remarkable if we remember how highly the work of the Persian masters was esteemed by the Mughal emperors and the nobles of their court,—a circumstance further emphasizing the overwhelming strength and vitality of the local tradition. It is inevitable that in the border-land provinces of the two realms, works should have been produced of a mixed nature sharing the characters of Indian and Persian art. Nevertheless, such works are hybrid, not transitional. They indicate contact, not derivation. Many of Akbar's and Jehangir's court painters were Hindus, while the descendants of Persian or Turkoman artists, far from imposing upon India the style of their ancestors, adapted themselves entirely to the Indian methods.

The period of great activity of modern Indian painting commences with the reign of Akbar, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. On the supposition that it is a foreign importation, the paintings of the time of Akbar ought to be thoroughly Persian, and we could only expect the succeeding generations to free themselves gradually of the foreign influence; instead of which, not only are the paintings of the time of Akbar purely Indian in character, but the style which we are accustomed to call "Mughal" can be shown, on the clearest evidence, to have been thoroughly established in India even before Akbar's time. Amongst the priceless gems of the Calcutta Gallery is an exquisite picture painted in India during the first half of the sixteenth

century, representing a dancing party at the court of Muhammad Tughlak. It is admirably reproduced in Havell's work on Indian Painting and Sculpture. Anything more thoroughly Indian and less related to Persian art, either in form or spirit, could scarcely be imagined. If we refer once more to the panels of Mansingh's palace, which we instanced as evidence of the vitality of Indian tradition, we may notice that they are not more than three or four decades anterior to the charming miniature here alluded to. Practically all the characteristic features of the Mughal school, which so conspicuously distinguish it from Persian painting, can be matched in the art of the Ajanta period, of which they clearly represent a survival.

The "trimmings," as they might be called, of the Mughal books, in the way of title pages, decorative borders, end-pieces, are purely Persian in style. Indeed, considering the fully organised system of division of labour that prevailed in Mughal times, it is not unlikely that some of this work is directly referable to Persian hands.

The gorgeously illuminated books of the Mohammedan libraries were an innovation in India. In respect to book illustration other than pictorial, the Indian had scarcely any precedent to go by, and he adopted the admirable Persian models. Moreover, although the Indian is an excellent decorator, this particular branch of the art does not seem to have been particularly congenial to him. It is significant of its imported origin that it deteriorates conspicuously as early as the time of Shah Jehan, though, in the purely pictorial style, many provinces of India continued to produce excellent work for two centuries more. In Persia, on the contrary, notwithstanding the decline of pictorial art that sets in from the period of Shah-Abbas onwards, the purely ornamental illuminations have continued to maintain a very high standard, even down to the present day. It is true that even now some good work of the kind is still done in India, but the Indian examples always lack that supreme refinement which invariably marks Persian illuminated arabesques even when they are carried to the extreme limits of gorgeousness and elaboration. This

branch of the art has never become thoroughly acclimatised in India.

It is clear that, even if we ignore those works of Indian painting that still survive from mediæval times, the internal evidence of the Mughal school is sufficient to establish its indigenous Indian origin.

The problem can be approached from yet another path. Even if the Ajanta paintings had disappeared without leaving any trace, our knowledge of Indian pictorial art would scarcely have suffered except as regards information on such subsidiary points as the technique of modelling and scale of colours. From the Asokan period onwards, the use of ivory, wood, and metal for sculpture purposes was supplemented by that of stone. However inferior a material this may be from an artistic point of view, it has over wood and ivory the advantage of durability, while its cheapness generally protects it from the risk of destruction which always threatens metal images on account of intrinsic value; unless, indeed, the material may consist of more or less pure limestone, when it may share the fate of the Amravati sculptures and follow them to the lime-kiln. The ruins of sacred edifices, ranging in age from second or third century B.C. to the close of the middle ages, have yielded a vast amount of sculpture in which we find every gradation from representations in the round to the lowest relief. A bas-relief is but a carved picture, and conveys almost as much information concerning the conditions of pictorial art as an actual painting. Many of the earlier Ajanta paintings, if represented in outline, might readily be mistaken for carvings from Sanchi or Bharhut. Others of somewhat later date might, with equal ease, be mistaken for reliefs from Amravati. Allowing for the somewhat greater freedom inseparable from painting as compared with sculpture, the same close correspondence is evident through every variation in style in each succeeding century.

Where the Ajanta record forsakes us, in the seventh century, there is no reason to believe that the parallelism which we can trace continuously through nearly a thousand years abruptly ceased to exist, simply because we do not happen to possess any

remains of wall-paintings of the succeeding centuries. On the contrary, the little information afforded by illuminated manuscripts clearly shows the continued parallelism of the two main branches of plastic art. While proclaiming their evident relationship to the art of Ajanta, the charming little miniatures reproduced in these pages are no less reminiscent of the thousand and one delightful carvings that nestle in every recess, or enliven every pilaster from Girnar to Bhuvaneshwar, from Khajurāho to Tanjor, even to far-off Angkor and Boro-Buddur. The perfect continuity of the double tradition of painting and sculpture could not be more clearly expressed.

Down to the close of the middle ages and to the era of Mughal conquest, India continued to produce sculpture according to the indigenous tradition. Babar and Humayun entered a country in full possession of a flourishing art tradition of great antiquity. There is no reason to suppose that when all other branches of culture were alive, painting alone should have disappeared. This aspect of the problem therefore again leads us to the conclusion that the Mughal school of painting is nothing else but the long-established indigenous art of India.

The connection between Indian painting and sculpture and also decoration is indeed so close that it scarcely seems correct to treat them separately. Once we realise this truth we need no longer speak of any "hiatus" in the history of Indian art, and we have sufficient elements for tracing its development continuously. We are still sadly in need of a comprehensive work that would give us, without any "esprit de parti," a connected account of the evolution of Indian art. All the works so far published are of a somewhat controversial nature, and principally discuss the æsthetic merits of Indian art. These controversies inevitably bring to light many instructive data, yet every one of us is at liberty to decide his own likes and dislikes, and what we need is a thoroughly precise and co-ordinated study that will allow us to make use of the enormous amount of material now available. The author who will have the patience of preparing a work of this kind, with the simple object of conveying precise information, will

earn the gratitude of every lover of art in every part of the world.

There is one conspicuous detail which is well worthy of notice as distinguishing the Ajanta school and the early mediæval Indian miniatures from the art of the Mughal period: it is the absence of gold used so profusely in Mughal painting. That the practice in India may be of Persian origin is not improbable, but the subject needs more elucidation than seems at present available, for we have to account also for the profuse application of gold in late mediæval and modern Tibetan painting, considering how sparingly it is used for that purpose in many branches of Chinese and Japanese painting. It is worth noticing that there are Nepalese banners of the sixteenth century and carefully executed miniatures in Nepalese manuscripts of as late a date as the seventeenth century, entirely without gold. The subject is worthy of attention and may be of utility in attempting to elucidate the relative share of Western and Eastern influences in the development of the later mediæval art of Persia and India. That the practice of gilding as applied to miniature painting, and indeed to painting in general, is primarily of Western origin cannot admit of any doubt. Moreover, we can locate its commencement with even further precision by referring it to the Mediterranean regions; for we can readily trace the gradual spread of this practice into the furthest western provinces of Europe. For instance, up to a comparatively late period, the exquisitely beautiful illuminated manuscripts of Ireland remain without any trace of this material. As late as the eighth century, it is used very sparingly in England even in the most richly decorated manuscripts, while, as early as the sixth century, throughout the eastern provinces of the Empire, in Italy, and, to some extent, throughout the Merovingian realm, the practice is already fully established, inspired no doubt by the gorgeous gilt mosaics which from this period onwards became such a conspicuous feature of architectural ornamentation so long as lasted the Byzantine influence. The climax of gilding for book decoration was reached in the superb illustrations of the Carolingian manuscript of the

ninth and tenth centuries, where its use sometimes almost exceeds the bounds of good taste. In later mediæval times, gilding, though more restrained than in the Carolingian period, became universal throughout every district of the West, both Latin or Greek, in every form of pictorial art, whether book illustration or mural decoration, and was used with strikingly beautiful effect. Although, as already suggested, the gilding of manuscripts may have been inspired by the dazzling Byzantine mosaics, yet in the decoration of typical eastern Byzantine manuscripts gold was used always in moderation. So far as can be judged from surviving fragments, the same thing seems to be true of the Abbassid manuscripts which belong essentially to the Byzantine school.

The fall of Constantinople in 1204, and that of Bagdad in 1258, dealt a death-blow to Byzantine culture, both in its Christian and Mohammedan phases. Owing to the downfall of these two last strongholds of the Byzantine world, Latin culture, that at the zenith of its splendour, and Mongolian culture came into direct contact and contended for supremacy over the ruins of Byzantine civilisation. Though the Mongolian influence may preponderate, that of the Latins cannot be negligible, especially when we remember the protracted period during which the Mongolian conquerors vacillated between Christianity and Islam, and consequently the closeness of their intercourse with the most brilliant of the Western courts for more than half a century. A careful study of the effects of Western art on the final phases of Eastern mediæval culture might yield interesting and important results. However great may be the debt of mediæval Persian painting to Mongolian art, the mannered attitude of the personages which so curiously recall the thirteenth and fourteenth century miniatures of Europe, combined with the lavish use of gold, establishes a degree of resemblance with Western art which it is difficult to regard as a mere coincidence.

The interaction of these various influences which lends such a fascinating charm to a study of the history of art has seldom, if ever, reached such a degree as to

supplant one school of regional art by another. Western, Persian, Indian, and Chinese art may have at various times more or less acted or reacted upon one another; but in no true sense can any one of them be said to be derived from any other. It is obvious that they all have a common origin, but to trace them to their common fountain-head we might have to go back at least ten thousand years. With the historical and archæological information now available, it is surprising that art critics should still be found who try to ascribe a Greek origin to Indian art. There are enthusiasts who look upon the art of China as derived from that of India. With all due respect to the learned authors who have propounded this view, their opinion seems as unreasonable as the Greek theory. Indeed, from what we know, by means of a few actual examples, concerning the flourishing condition of Chinese art twenty centuries before the Christian era, the opposite course might be accepted as probable, and China might be regarded as the fountain-head of Indian art, though we lack definite proof of such a theory.

The derivation of a regional art does not necessarily bear any relation to its true

originality or æsthetic merit. Out of a hackneyed motif may be evolved a thoroughly original treatment. So long as the artist uses sufficiently good material, it does not much matter whence he procured it or whether he manufactured it himself. It is his treatment of it that constitutes the value and originality of his work.

Nothing can be more instructive and elevating than the history of art, but the narrow-minded controversies on questions of national precedence which so frequently disfigure modern criticism are as fruitless as they are unjust and cruel. If we mix up Art with Politics, the artist will wallow in the mud together with the politician and art criticism will sink into the mire of journalism. Whatever the nationality of the artist, let us bow to him in deep reverence and gratitude. From wherever he hails, whether from Europe, Persia, India, China, or Japan, the artist is the supreme Magician who casts a woof of enchanted colours across the drab warp of our dreary lives. He is the Magician to whom God has revealed the secret of the philosopher's stone: everything he touches he can transmute into gold.

IV.—A SIGNED MOLÂRÂM.

By PUNDIT CHANDRA DHAR GULERI.

A NONYMITY is an outstanding character of Indian art. With few exceptions, the authors of a large body of Indian sculptures and paintings are not known by name. Their distinction lies in the fact of their being racial rather than individual productions. This is true as much in the field of art as in that of literature. The entire range of early Sanskrit literature has nothing much to offer in the way of autobiography and very little history, though later commentators and writers occasionally give detailed accounts of themselves and their patrons. The names of the authors of the epics or the Purânas are mythical shadows and in most cases fictitious; and in later times authors frequently suppressed

their own names and let their work pass as that of some mythical or famous poets. In some hymns of the Rigveda, the last verse gives the name of the author, sometimes conveying a double entendre; the practice suddenly revived in the vernacular literature of the middle ages when his name invariably occurs in single verses, songs or hymns, e.g., "Thus saith Kabir," "Bhushana says." Suradâsa, Tulsidâsa and other poets always give their names in full or in part in the last line of a hymn or sonnet. According to the old rules of social discipline, the purpose seems to have been to suppress and discount individual life with the view to merge the same in a larger racial consciousness. Thus the expression in art as in literature came to be largely racial rather than

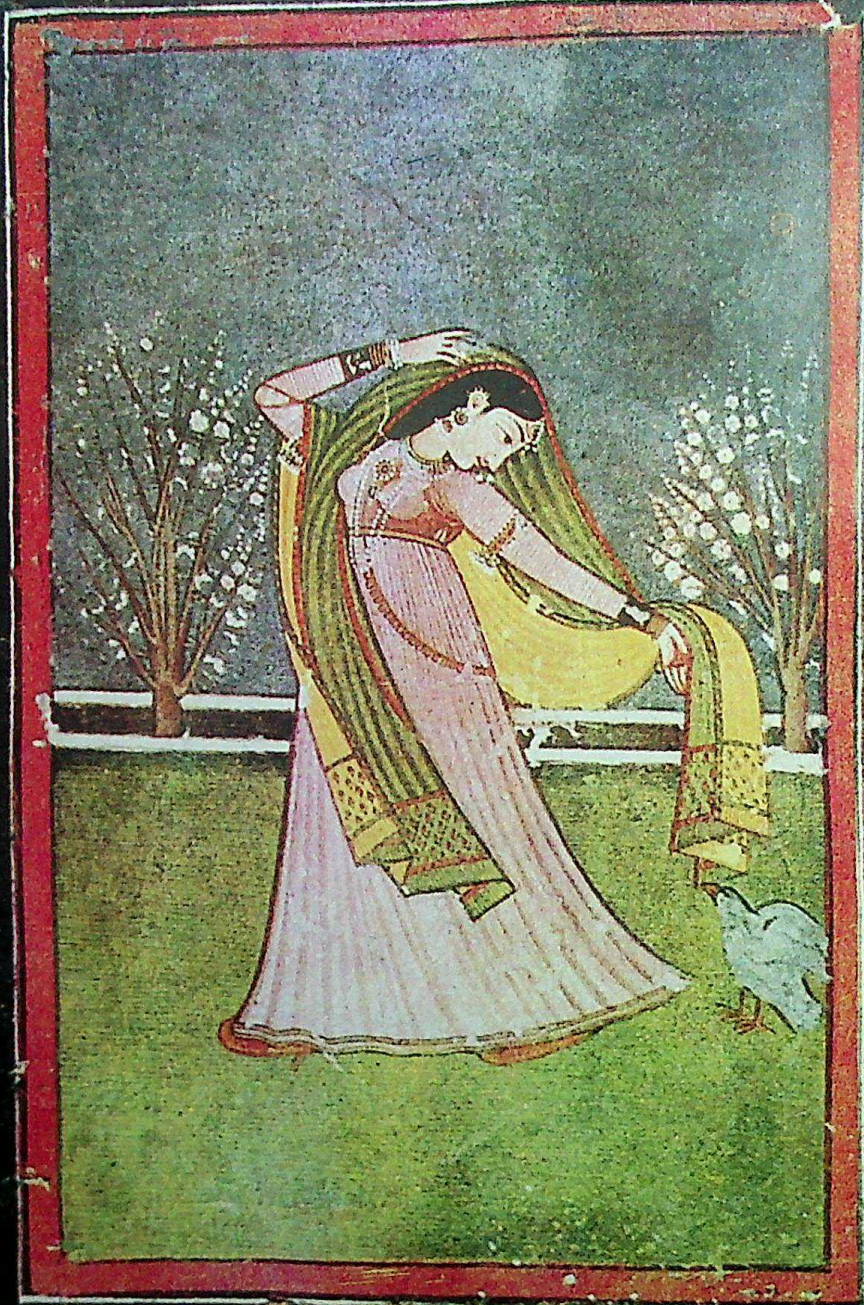
individual. The expression of individuality was considered as injurious to the unity of the inner spiritual life which the individual sought to attain as the common heritage of the race. The artists were exponents of a form of culture which was of a profound and general character, shared by all but peculiar to none. The individuality of the artist is thus, more or less, a mystery in Indian art, and his productions are the only evidence left to us of the quality of his mind, and the only means, if at all, of picturing to ourselves a glimpse of his personality. In Europe the study and criticism of the works of an artist is very often encumbered by many details of biography and anecdotes, and much other extraneous matter, more or less alien to the understanding of a masterpiece. However much such extraneous details of the life of the artist may help to realise the atmosphere in which the artist worked and lived, they have the inevitable effect of diverting the concentration of attention from his works—the product of the mind of the artist—to his personality. For, indeed, the mind of the artist, and, in fact, all that is worth knowing about him, is best known through his works. It is a very popular and somewhat pardonable failing to enquire more about an artist than his works alone can give us, and out of this popular curiosity has grown up a prodigious literature in European countries, dealing with the “life” and “works” of famous painters and sculptors. Fortunately the materials available in those countries are rich enough to justify the attempts made to elucidate the bibliography of the works of artists and to deduce from them a critical estimate of the evolution of style of individual artists. In India, and in the Asiatic countries generally, such details are almost impossible to obtain, and, indeed, in India a signed masterpiece, until we come to the Mughal period, is almost an unknown phenomenon. Even in Mughal and post-Mughal painting, and in the later Kangra schools, a signed picture is more or less a rarity. A somewhat unusual interest therefore attaches to the little water-colour drawing from the brush of Molâ Râm, which we reproduce here in the colour plate opposite,

from the original in the collection of the Editor.

In A.D. 1760, when the fifth act of the great drama of Mughal history was coming to a tragic end, there was born, in the district of Garhwal, the last representative of the ancient court painters of India on whom devolved the somewhat difficult task of keeping alive for a few years the great flames of the old pictorial tradition in India, before it was finally extinguished shortly after the overthrow of the political power under the shadow of which lived and flourished many of the later cultural activities of India. During the anarchy that preceded the dissolution and dismemberment of the Mughal Empire, many of the surviving exponents of the old schools of painting took refuge in the recesses of the Himalayas under the protection of petty Hindu chiefs. Just as with the inroads of the Muhammadans in Bengal the representatives of old art of Magadha and Gaud found refuge in the valley of the Nepal, the artists of the Mughal court, under somewhat similar circumstances, ran for shelter under the Hindu princes of the Punjab Himalaya. Of many a family of artists who no doubt gradually dropped off, one by one, from the Court of Delhi, the case of the ancestors of Molâ Râm is undoubtedly a typical example.* When the intrigues of Aurangzeb drove his nephew, Prince Salim, for safety of his life, from Delhi, the latter obtained temporary protection with Raja Fateh Singh, the then ruling Chief of Garhwal. With the fugitive prince came to Srinagar (Garhwal) two artists named Shâmdâs and Kehardâs. They remained with the Rajah of Garhwal who, shortly after, treacherously surrendered the prince to Aurangzeb. The Rajah appears to have taken great interest in the two artists, who were made Dewans with a jagîr (freehold) of fifty villages and an allowance of Rs. 5 per day. They must have flourished under their new patron, and

* That various Chiefs and Rajahs unknown in political history have been immortalised by their Court artists is evident from numerous extant portraits of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, e.g., portrait of Raja Bir Singh, of Nurpur, and various Sikh portraits.

पुनः ॥ १ ॥ कलकौलबलानिकशीमुखचंद्रदिखावतहि ॥ लसिसंग
रसकठोरसुनावतहि ॥ रुकुकीरुकीफिरकीसिफिरीचहुआसहि ॥
वसोलागजचलीहाटिकैदुपटापट्यावचावतहि ॥ १ ॥ सवत १८५२

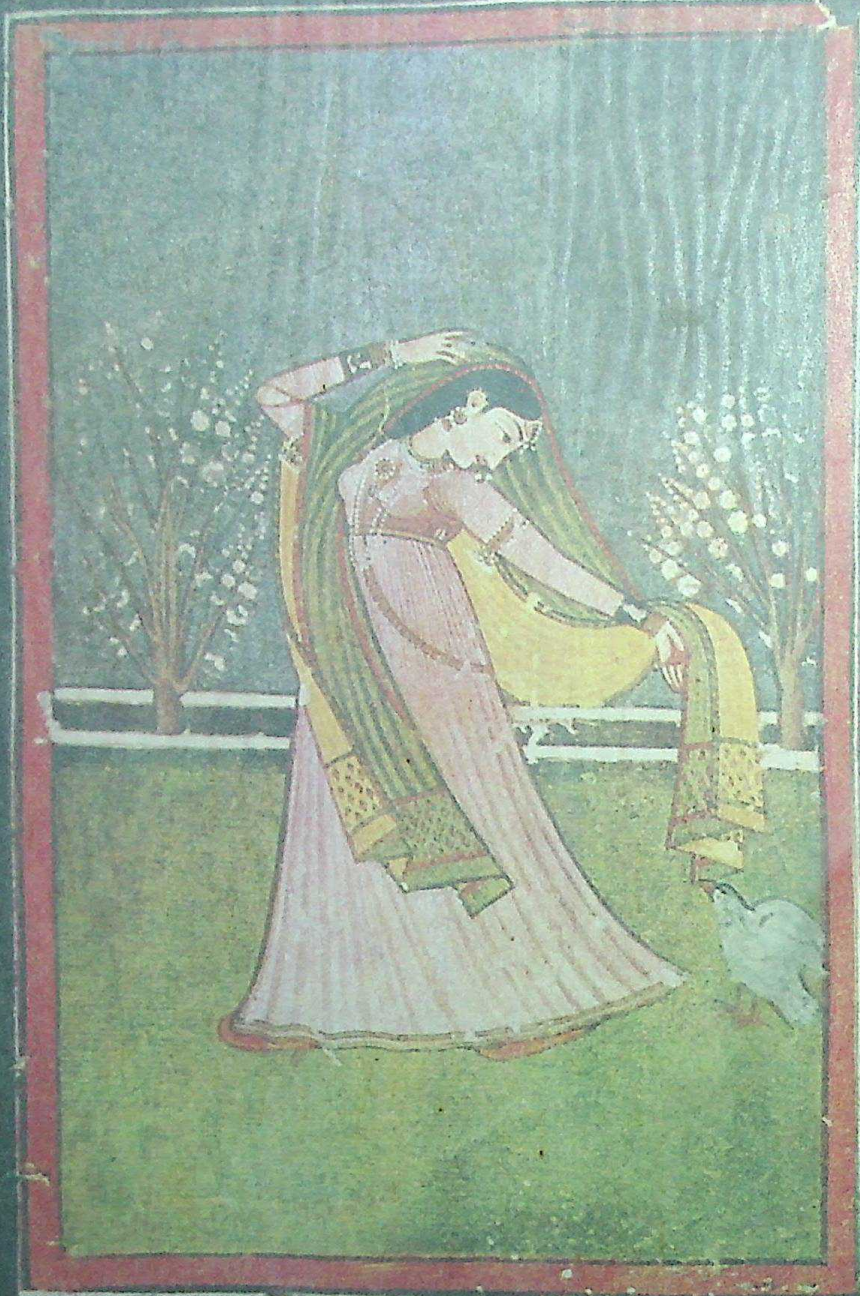


appear to have handed down the craft of their family tradition to Molâ Râm, who was the fourth descendant of the family and an artist of a very wide culture. From his extant works we know that he was a gifted painter. He also appears to be a poet in Hindi and Persian. He is said to have left some manuscripts in the way of history of some of the events of the time of Aurangzeb, the memory of which could easily have been preserved in the family, the ancestors of which actually took part in some of the incidents. The achievement of the artist in the rôle of a historian has not been investigated, but we have had evidence of his poetic exercises. Dr. Coomaraswamy, in his "Rajput Painting" (Oxford Press, Vol. I, p. 23), has already cited one dohâ or verse which Molâ Râm has affixed to one of his pictures. It runs as follows: "What are thousands and lakhs or millions of gold and villages? Molâ Râm finds his rewards in good-will and well-being. Samvat 1832 (A.D. 1775), the fifth day of the bright fortnight of phâlgun: well be it!" That the artist was in the habit of inscribing his pictures with poetic compositions of his own is borne out by another example of his work here reproduced. The practice of inscribing pictures with descriptive notes or verses, so frequent in ancient Chinese painting, seems to have been very fashionable with old Indian artists. Pictures illustrating scenes from the epics and the Purânas, as also representations of Râginis or musical modes, are invariably accompanied by inscriptions in the handwriting of the artist, quoting verses, generally, on the top of the picture, describing or elucidating the subject matter. These verses are generally borrowed from the current popular texts either in Hindi or in Sanskrit. In many of the works of Molâ Râm his descriptive verses in dohâ or other metres appear to be his own compositions, the last line giving the name of the composer, according to the old tradition preserved in Hindi poetry. Both the verses are dated, so that they offer valuable evidence, recorded by his own hands, of the time in which he flourished. There could be no doubt that the verse, at least on the picture here reproduced, was inscribed by the artist himself. The verse has been

written in careful hand, in thick white colour, the four quarters being punctuated by red lines. Portions of the writing are unfortunately damaged, but it is not difficult to make out the sense. The first words in red lettering were probably "Subhamastu," the usual benedictive formula. The language of the verse is Hindi [poetic Brajbhâsâ, lit., the dialect of Braja, Mathura District], and the composition is in the well-known "Savaiya" metre. Missing the two illegible words, the verse lends itself to the following transliteration: "Vâgavilokana kaun nawalâ nikasi mukha-chanda dikhâvata hi|| Lakhi sanga cha (kora)..... sabda kathora sunâwata hi|| Ujhaki ujhaki phiraki si phiri chahu âshahi..... Ka (?) vi Molâ Râma chali hati kai dupatâ pata chota bachawâta hi|| Samvat 1852" (A.D. 1795). It is certainly difficult to render the spirit of the mellifluous words of the original verse, but the following somewhat bald translation will at least convey the meaning of the poet: "The young lady went out to see the garden. As soon as she showed her beautiful moon-face she was hung upon by the impertinent 'chakora' (partridge), which insisted on inflicting on her its harsh unwelcome words. She gently flitted about like a whirling top, avoiding the impertinent attention of the bird. The poet Molâ Râm says, she stepped back, in time, dodging the bird by the strokes of her whirling sash cloth." The dress and ornaments of the young lady are similar to those very common in the district of Garhwal and the submontane Kangra District. The verse and picture may well have been the artist's poetic tribute to his own lady-love and was possibly founded on an actual incident, though the chakora thirsting after the moon-face of a beautiful lady is a well-known old Indian poetic conceit, repeatedly exploited and hackneyed by almost all Sanskrit poets. The chakora, in poetic tradition, is very fond of the moon. It is said to be rather fastidious and inconsistent in its tastes, either drinking the moon's rays or swallowing burning charcoal.* In the language of the

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सुखमय निलोत्पल को नवलानिकशी सुवचन दिखावतहि ॥ लभिरंग
पुष्पमठोर सुजावतहि ॥ ऊऊ की ऊऊ की फिर की सिफिरी चहु आसहि ॥
वकीला राजवली हाटि कै दुपटा पर जो वचावतहि ॥ १॥ संवत् १७५२



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verse the poet Molâ Râm may very aptly be taken to pose in the guise of the bird thirsting for the beautiful face, as in the picture the bird very narrowly misses being

compared to the moon, poets transfer the allegiance of the chakora to the face itself. The following verse from Râjashekhâr (Viddhasâlâbhanjika i, 31) describes the face of the beloved as another moon, rising on the palace walls, without the deer-mark, not in the sky, and scattering pure light which is followed by chakorâs from the garden, who are bent upon taking mouthful of this nectar:

Upa prakarâgrain prahina nayane tarkaya
manag| Anâkashe koyain galitaharinah sîtakiranah||
Sudhâbaddha-grâsair-upavana chakorair-anusr-
tam| Kiran-jyotsnâm-achchham navalavalapâka-
pranayinim||

struck by the end of her yellow sash, as suggested by the last line of the verse. Although the artist has succeeded in catching his young lady in a very beautiful pose, the picture cannot be taken as representing him in his best manner. In spite of a certain decisiveness and firmness of drawing which clearly foreshadows the later development of his style, the picture is a little crude in many respects, particularly in the treatment of the trees, and evidently belongs to the middle period of his life, when his style was yet to mature. This is amply borne out by the date of the picture, viz., Samvat 1852 (A.D. 1795). He was born in 1760, and died in 1833 A.D. So that he was 35 years old when he drew this little water colour picture.

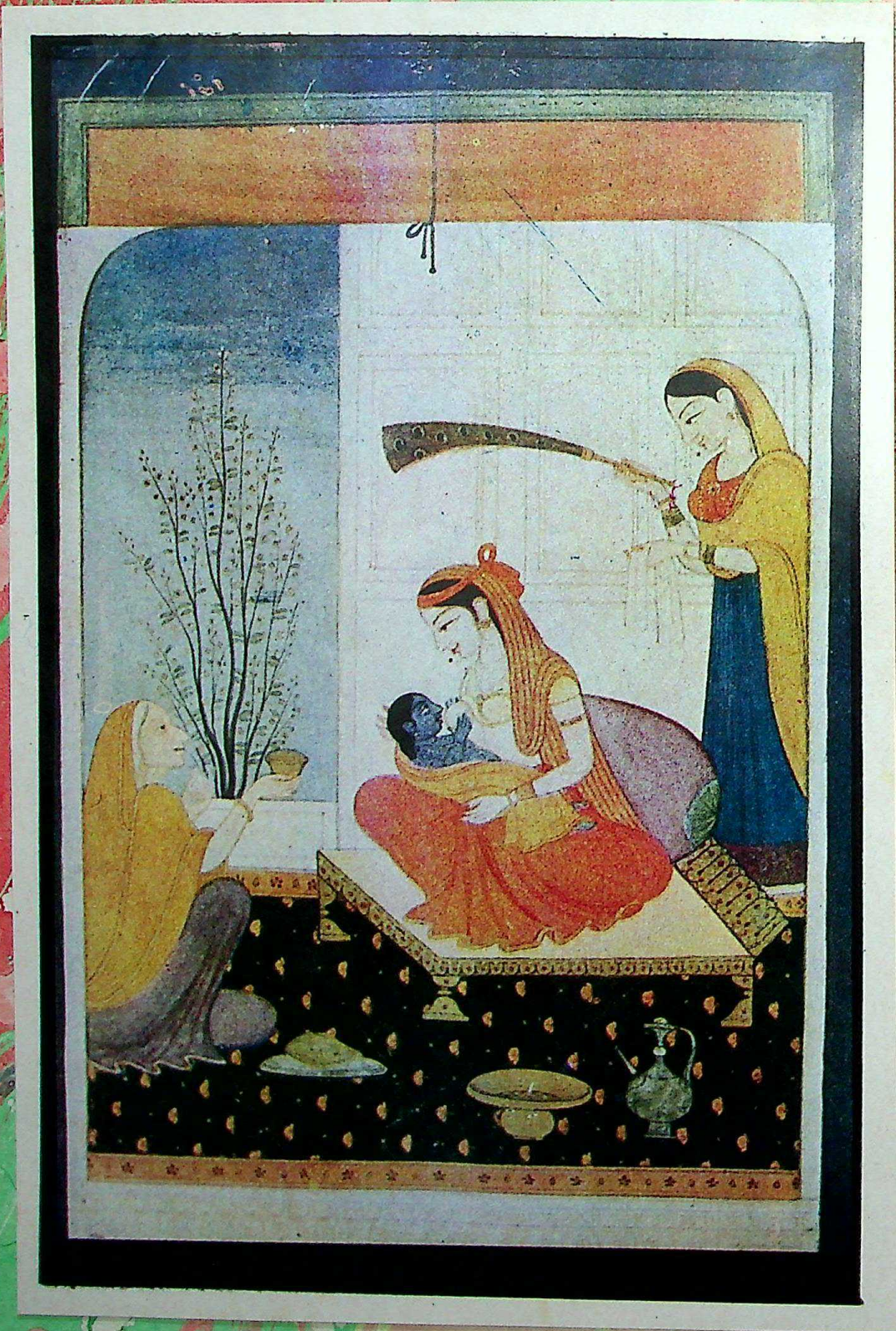
V.—A VAISHNAVAITE MADONNA.

By SUSHIL BANERJEE.

EVER since the beginning of the fourth century, and throughout the whole course of Byzantine, Gothic and Italian art, down to the twentieth century (as in such modern works as those of the Polish artist Bernard Meninsky), the mother and child has been one of the most popular and fascinating motifs in various phases of European art. While the theme lent itself to various doctrinal developments in the hand of the theologian, it afforded to artists of various temperaments and moods widely divergent methods and manners of presentation. From the hieratic Madonna of the early bas-reliefs, grim and rigid, it went through a variegated career, now gracious and reverential, now winsome and tender, now picturesque and attractive and subsequently developing into a real goddess of maternity and ultimately descending through pathos and homeliness into sentimentality and affectation. As one of the most hackneyed themes of Christian mythology it has enjoyed a continuous reign in European art for nearly fifteen centuries. Indeed it is difficult to name any other subject which enjoyed so prolonged a vogue in Gothic sculpture and Italian painting. And one is almost inclined to mistake a mother and child motif as a special feature

of European art. But it would be erroneous to regard the motif as a monopoly of Christian art. The cult of the motherhood of God itself goes far back into pre-Christian era, and is anterior to the development of Greek civilization. The earliest evidence of the existence of the idea has been discovered in Crete, from which it may have found its way into the non-Christian religious system of the East, as also into the Christian religion of the West. In India the development of mother and child motif is earlier than its parallel in the West. Hâriti, the Buddhist Madonna, has been proved by M. Foucher to be earlier than any similar Christian theme. Beginning from Gândhâra, the "mother and child" repeatedly occurs throughout the whole career of Buddhist art in all its ramifications both within and outside the geographic limits of India. In early Brahmanical sculpture the motif occurs once or twice, and several times, in the later phases of the art, as in Orissa. But it is in the later Vaishnavaita development under the influence of the Bhâgavata Purâna that the theme acquires very interesting features in connection with the stories of Krishna.

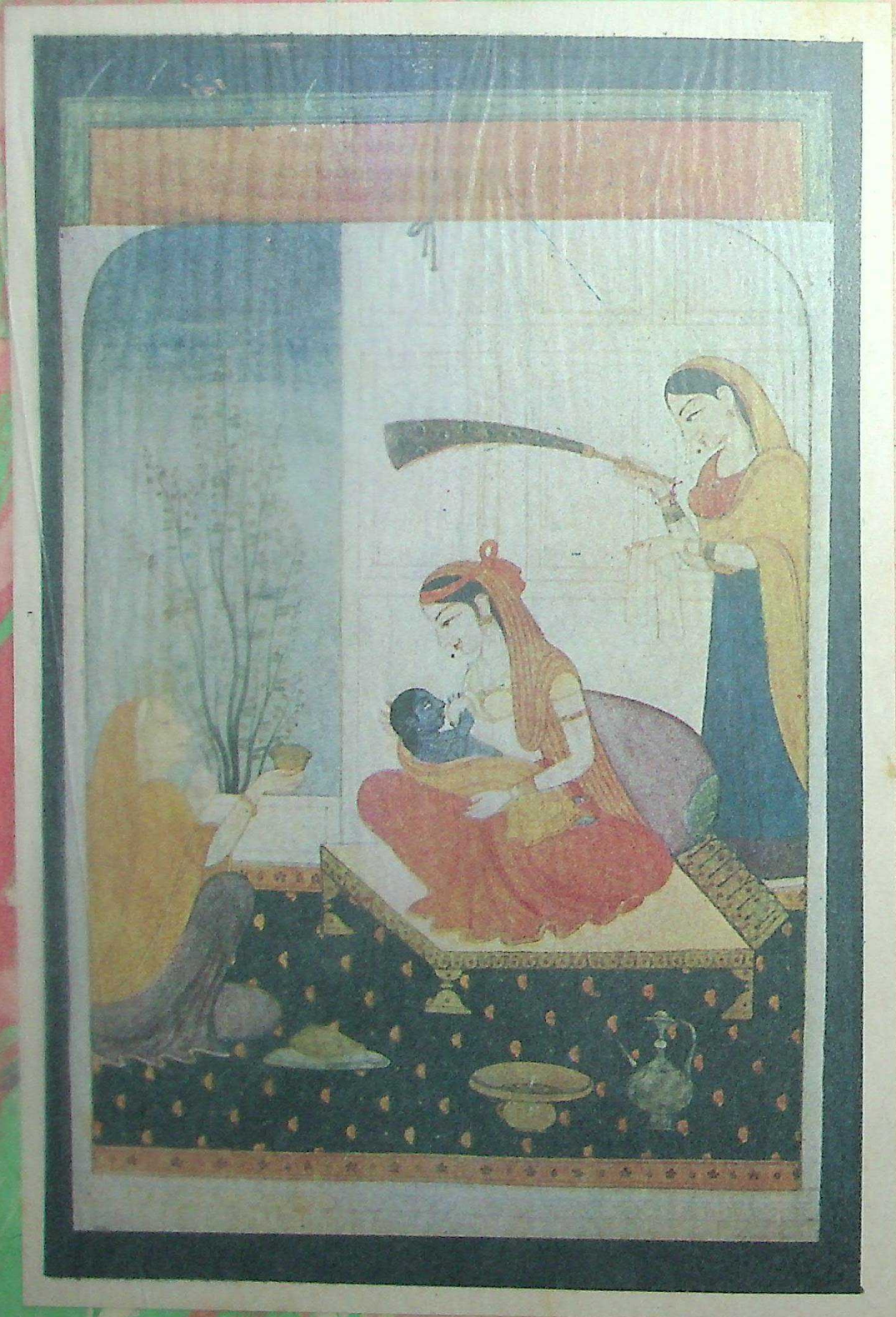
Of all the picturesque legends that folklore have woven round the Cycle of Krishna



none are perhaps so "sweet" and "poetical" as the stories about the career of the Divine Child in the house of Nanda and Yasodâ, wife and queen of Nanda and the foster-mother of Krishna. The infatuation of Yasodâ for the Babe of Indian Bethlehem has transcended and idealised all the love that a mother ever felt for her own child. Indeed, the Love of Yasodâ for the Holy Child "Gopâla"—"The Little Shepherd"—has become typical of the idealised emotion of the mother. It is an image of the baby Krishna that the Indian mother adores as the Bambino, calling it Gopâla, her cowherd. His name fills gospels and poems, the folksongs of all Hindu races are full of descriptions of Him as a cowherd wandering and sporting among His fellows; and childish literature is full of stories about Him, curiously like European tales of the Christ-child. According to Vaishnava theology, the God-head is attainable by all and is accessible in terms of all kinds of human passions—one of them being the filial passion, the Vâtsalya Rasa. It is said that Yasodâ had prayed, in a former life, to attain Krishnahood through the love of a mother. As the queen of Nanda, Yasodâ, through the mother's passion for the child, attained to the closest fellowship, if not union, with the Divine—by the path of emotionalism, as distinguished from the path of knowledge. For, in spite of all the miracles that the Divine Child performed, Yasodâ hardly ever attained to a realisation of the superhuman character of her babe. Her glimpses of Divinity were constantly overpowered and drowned by her human maternal affection, and she felt happiest in believing that it was not a God, but her own little child, that she pressed to her bosom. It is the apotheosis of this human emotion—the intensity of Mother-Love—that has been pictured in beautiful forms in Indian literature and art. The love of Yasodâ for infant Krishna has been told with consummate lyrical and imaginative skill in all classes of Vaishnava poetry and particularly in "Hindi Bhajan" songs. The poets and artists popularised in folk art the emotional creed of devotion which the theologians sought to establish through abstruse religious speculations. While the Vaishnavaites have preached a

mystic spiritualization of the human passion, the artist and the poet have preferred to keep to the common human level and have lavished all their skill in picturing in terms of ordinary human feeling the sweet infatuation of the Indian Madonna for her little "black baby"—the infant Krishna.* In mediæval and later Indian art the treatment of these themes is extremely poetical rather than theological. They are essentially lyrical in feeling rather than, in any sense, epic. They are not literary interpretations of sacred legends. They are rather the products of an identification and realisation of the sacred legends in the actual life-environment of the artists. The leading character of the presentation of Yasodâ in the later pictures of the Kangra school is one of sheer humanity, as in the example here reproduced in colour. As in so many of the works of Correggio, the Madonna is the homely mother, and the child is a mere infant. It has nothing superhuman or sacred about it except in the traditional blue colour of its complexion. Yet there is a subtle and exquisite tenderness, coupled with a restraint, which saves the presentation of the subject from degenerating into a mere genre picture of a mother suckling her babe. The picture is no doubt founded on actual experience of the artist of life around him and bears many traces of his own local environment from which he drew his models. The piece of red cloth round the head of Yasodâ, known as "Jâmar-patti," is very characteristically reminiscent of the custom (till lately current in North-Western India and Rajputana) of indicating motherhood; the new mother after the birth of the child used to be signalled by this characteristic symbol. The introduction of the old nurse sitting in front, offering a pot of sandal paste, is a very well-known convention in Rajput painting, and in a nativity subject, such as the one we are now considering, will easily recall the midwife depicted in mediæval Christian art or the well-known Anastasia of Provençal mystery plays. It will be unfair to attempt to draw any close analogy between the mother and child of the Vaishnavaites legends and the Christian

* Krishna literally means "The Black One."



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* Krishna literally means "The Black One."

treatment of the same theme, as the subject in the two systems of mythology developed very distinct and divergent cult features. In Christian mythological art, the mother and the child have never parted company and have formed a twin deity for the worship of the faithful. In Vaishnavite art, the Gopal Krishna, the favourite child of Yasodâ, developed an independent status and has been worshipped in the single image of the boy Krishna. There are innumerable images in brass, bronze and stone surviving in various places, from Mathura in the North to all parts of Southern India, where Vaishnavite cults have enjoyed any kind of popularity. But the treatment accorded to the subject in Rajput art has many parallels in European art, particularly in its later history. The particular subject as treated in the Kangra school of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century

hardly reaches the gravity, dignity or religiosity of the Madonnas of Italian art. And our present example hardly rests on any level much higher than that attained by such pictures as Alfred Stevens' "Tous les Bonheurs" in the Brussels Museum. The motif itself appears to have been very seldom treated by artists of the Kangra school. Although a few subjects representing Krishna and Yasodâ have recently come to light, they seem to be far less frequent in Rajput painting, and the known examples appear to be from the pen of the same artist or his associates or descendants, as the colour schemes of the known specimens seem to indicate. We hope to reproduce in a subsequent number a somewhat similar subject which appears to be from the same brush as that of our present illustration, which we owe to the generous courtesy of Mr. P. C. Manuk, of Bankipur, the owner of the original picture.

VI.—A BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM BURMA.

IN the spread and propagation of the Buddhist faith in countries beyond the geographical limits of India, the part that the teachings and "sayings" of the Buddha played was no less than that played by images of the Enlightened One. Indeed, in countries in a more or less primitive and barbarous stage, the pictures and images of the Buddha appear to have made greater appeal to new converts than abstruse philosophical doctrines. And specially in countries like Burma, Tibet, Siam and Java, the Buddhist missionaries found in the numerous images of the Buddhist pantheon more useful and potent instruments than the Buddhist scriptures in propagating and popularising the Buddhist creed. With the gradual development of the worship of the Buddha as a personal god and the growth of a spirit of devotion which led to the creation of a cult of images of the Buddha and a host of Bodhisattvas regarded as personal gods, responsive to the prayers of worshippers, there grew up an enormous demand of a variety of images for worship of which the central figure was the Buddha himself. The multiplication of images of the Buddha

very soon became the principal phase in all forms of Buddhist religion in and outside India. And the well-known pious and somewhat passionate utterance of Empress Komio of Japan very typically illustrates the position given to Buddhist images in later Buddhism: "The sound of the tools that are raising the image of Buddha, let it reverberate the Heaven!" Indeed the demand of the worshipper for images must have kept busy generations of image-makers in India and Further India, as well as in China, Japan, and Java, for many centuries. And the missionaries who carried the words of the Buddha beyond the Indian Ocean came with fully developed doctrines as with a perfected and complete system of iconography. The image of the Buddha had long ago developed and perfected itself. And the type attained in the Gupta period (A.D. 320-455) formed the main foundation of the colonial and missionary phases of Buddhist Art in Further India and the Far East. The continuous repetition of the type principally of the Gupta School, notwithstanding its fullness, suavity, and grace, had almost degenerated into a stereotyped formula, out of which it seemed impossible to deduce or derive the

passion and vitality of primitive examples. But the contribution made to Buddhist Art by its colonial exponents was of a more real and individual character than the mere reproduction and repetition of Indian types and patterns. As Buddhism spread and grew in China, Japan, Burma, and Siam, it developed new phases of art and iconography, inspired no doubt by Indian prototypes. The actual number of images carried by pilgrims and missionaries from India to China and other Eastern countries must have been numerous. They inspired the growth of new branches of Buddhist Art, outside the Indian Continent. And just as the scriptures of Buddhism were rendered in the vernacular languages of the countries which accepted the faith, Buddhist Art likewise found new expression in terms of a somewhat new vocabulary and plastic idiom—which reflected in its main outline the character of Indian Buddhist Art, but which had many new features as well which constituted, in many ways, distinctive contributions and accessions to Buddhist Art. This was evident not only in many interesting iconographic developments, but also in the very character and mode of representation. There is another important feature of colonial Buddhist Art which deserves careful notice. Early Buddhist Art in China, Japan, Siam or Java, particularly in its images of the Buddha, is resplendent with all the qualities of primitive art, being the product and direct expression of a newly felt emotion, notwithstanding the many centuries that have preceded the colonial expansion with various schools of Buddhist sculpture in a continuous chain of historical development—a chain which seems to be broken with the efflorescence of colonial Buddhism. Thus when the mode and style of representing the Buddha and the connected images as developed and perfected during the Gupta epoch reaches Burma, Siam and other Far Eastern countries, Buddhist sculpture suddenly reverts to its past history and develops many new and primitive qualities as if the image of the Buddha was pictured for the first time in these distant Buddhist colonies. In this way Buddhist Art for many centuries preserved its primitive

inspiration as some new race or other, be it the Tibetan, the Chinese, the Siamese, the Burmese or the Japanese, was “always catching the inspiration and feeling and expressing it with primitive sensibility and passion.” The practice of Buddhist sculpture in Burma, as in all other Eastern countries, though it never fails to honour the main conventions of Indian Buddhist images, develops qualities distinctly rich in individual expression as in their power of inspiration. They do accept the general iconographic canons, but they use them as useful instruments to express the deeply felt emotion of their new faith. They have never copied or reproduced the models from Gupta or Amaravati schools as mechanical formulas. This is particularly evident in the physiognomy of the types depicted in the Buddha images of Burma, Siam or China. The features of the face are translated from the ethnic types of each country, and the distinct and nicely differentiated variations of the features of different branches of the Mongolian family help one to identify any Buddhist image as originating from China, Burma or Siam. It is true that in Siam and in Java the Aryo-Indian feature crops up in many images of the Buddha, but they appear to be exceptions to the general rule that colonial art loved to find expression in racial local types. Before the progress of archaeology and the discovery of early Buddhist images, Buddhist Art was generally represented by late examples principally of the Burmese and Siamese school, the principal reason being the existence of a long-continued living tradition of image-making in those countries, where image-worship has flourished up to the present day, long after the extinction of Buddhism in the land of its birth. The products of recent times were no doubt of a very lifeless and mechanical character, chiefly represented by crude marble Buddhas seated in “*bhumisparsa mudrâ*,” and generally decorated with loud colours of red and gold in violent and vulgar contrasts. But before the degenerated flourish of this gold and tinsel of the modern art, Burma grew and nursed a vitally rich and noble school of sculpture principally represented in wood. Indeed, the latter

material offered a peculiarly suitable medium for the expression of the quaint artistic genius of the Burmese people. The Burmese school had strong affinities with the Siamese and Cambodian schools, by which later Burmese Art was greatly influenced and with which the Burmese school is liable to be confused. The leading types of Buddhist sculpture undoubtedly came from Cambodia or Siam, for the old Ramanya-desa (Pegu and Tenasserim) was under Cambodian rule from the 6th century to the 10th century A.D. and under Siamese rule in the 14th century. Though there are various images of the Buddha obviously fashioned on the Gupta types (e.g., the well-known image of the Buddha sheltered by the hooded snake Muchalinda in the Naga Yon pagoda in Pagan), the leading types of Buddha images of Burma follow the innovations introduced by the Cambodian and, later, by the Siamese schools.

By the courtesy of Mr. Charles Nordlinger (Calcutta) we are enabled to reproduce on the page opposite a typical Burmese image of the Buddha, which will help us to study the characteristics of the image in the form it became popular in Burma. The subject of our illustration is a wooden image treated with the dull gold lacquer—which must have been renewed from time to time. It appears to have been carved from one single piece, except the right hand which is a separate and a new piece added by way of "restoration." Its height is about thirty-two inches, including the lotus pedestal on which rest the feet of the image in a very sensitive and almost nervous pose. The modelling seems to be characteristically fine and delicate and the expression of the face with its dreamy smile is particularly happy and far above the average mechanical effect of this class of figures. The principal element which contributes to the superior plastic quality of the figure is undoubtedly furnished by the extremely artistic disposition of the drapery, the subtle rhythm of which gives a movement to the figure in contrast to the static character of the pose, which is emphasized by the dynamics of the flowing lines of the richly brocaded borders of the garment. In the treatment of the

drapery the Buddhist artists of the Far East found the principal outlet of their own individual expression, and it is in the manner of the disposition of the drapery that an element is introduced for differentiating it from the Indian prototypes. If we compare this with any image of the Gupta period, the divergence is quite obvious. The peculiar manner of arranging the end of the upper cloth in graceful and superimposed folds resting on the left shoulder is derived from images of the Cambodian school, which appears to have been the originator of this practice. The Burmese type of the Buddha can, however, be easily distinguished from the Cambodian and Siamese types by the characteristic treatment of the "urnâ," the protruding symbol on the head. In Burma it is almost a circular knob very closely reproducing the Indian fashion, whereas in Siamese and Cambodian figures it is invariably a pointed peaklike flame, particularly in the examples of Buddha images of the Ayuthia period. To return to our illustration, the sincerity and the obvious spontaneity of expression in the figure appear to be products of the artist's individual inspiration rather than the mechanical skill of the craftsman, and one is driven to conclude that it must have been one of the earliest types of the class of the Buddha,—the individual creation of some early Burmese artist. It cannot, however, be taken to represent the earlier schools, and, in view of its affinity to well-known examples, it has to be ascribed to a late period. Mr. Charles Duroiselle, to whom we are indebted for many valuable suggestions with regard to the study of the figure, thinks it "to be quite modern." The many distinctive qualities of the figure seem, however, to take it much beyond the tendencies of modern productions. The right hand of the figure, which is a new piece added to replace the original hand evidently injured by some accident, seems to indicate that the "restorer," at any rate, estimated the figure as representing a worthy example deserving repair or restoration. That the artist who actually carved it was not the author of its conception is, however, evident from a superficial comparison of our figure with the type represented by the colossal image





Colossal Image of the Buddha.

Ananda Pagoda, Pagan



Image of the Buddha, Naga Yon Pagoda, Pagan

of the Buddha in the Ananda temple at Pagan built in 1090 A.D. by King Kyantassittha, as also the gold image of the Shwezigon Pagoda rebuilt by the same king. The poses of the hands, as also the disposition of the draperies, in our illustration are accurately, if not slavishly, transcribed from these earlier examples. Indeed, it is somewhat of a marvel how the artist, though strictly conforming to the canon and formula of the earlier precedents in all details, has succeeded in contributing many individual qualities which have saved the figure from the effect of a mechanical repetition of a fixed and schematic pattern. A few words may be added as to the exact identity of the figure and its place in the Buddhist pantheon. According to Mr. Duroiselle, it is the representation of Dipankara Buddha, the twenty-fourth predecessor of Gautama. Dipankara (literally, the Illuminator) is the first of the twenty-five Tathâgatas who attained Buddhahood, Gautama Buddha being the last. "He is believed to have lived 3000 years on earth before finding any one worthy

of receiving his divine message. He then decided to convert the world, and caused the appearance of a great city to proceed from his lamp ("dipa") and fix itself in space. While the people of Jambudvîpa (India) were gazing upon this miracle, fierce flames were emitted from the four walls. Fear filled their hearts and they looked for a Buddha to save them. Then Dipankara came forth from the burning city and began to teach the Law" (Getty). In Java and Ceylon, as in Burma and Siam, the Dipankara Buddha is generally represented as standing with the right hand in the gesture of protection ("abhaya mudrâ") and the left hand carrying the folds of the garments at the hip as in our illustration. Like all Buddhas, Dipankara has the short curly hair, the "ushnîsa," "urnâ," and long-lobed ears. The small object in the right hand is generally believed to represent a fruit from the Jambu tree. To the modern Buddhists in Burma the figure simply represents the Buddha Gautama without any particular association.

VII.—INDIAN ART AND ICONOGRAPHY.

By BRINDAVAN C. BHATTACHARYA.

INDIAN art is not a thing merely by itself. It forms one of several manifestations which represent, in all consummation, the spiritual life of the Indians. To appreciate the true nature of Indian art presupposes always a sound comprehension of the origin of all true art and that of Indian art in particular. Human mind takes an inward delight in reflecting itself upon nature and its processes, and it is the idealised forms of the issues of such a mental operation that have given rise to all productions of art. Man, as observer of nature, has discovered certain unities or similarities between himself and the outer world, but not being content with a mere shadow of resemblance, he succeeded in finding out his own similarities magnified in scale or modified in form in nature. He proceeded still further and, from a consideration that all vibration signified a true sign of life, he

believed that throughout in nature there was no lack of life, and nature, as a whole, was a living principle more or less. So rightly he regarded nature as a great store-house of life and energy from which have radiated the so-called living beings, and consequently was justified in regarding nature as the true originator—the mother or father, so to speak, of created beings. This was the origin of the personification of nature, or, in other words, of seeing nature in a personal form. When, thus, the relation between Nature and Man was once established and understood, all the attributes as well as the functions of man commenced to be seen through nature, though in an idealistic form. There was, however, another process at work: the process of abstraction or generalisation which gradually created a world in itself. Abstraction of qualities resulted in revealing certain universal phases

of nature. Any comprehension of one of them was practically not possible without a "recollection" or "representation" of the object that it always inhered. Thus the need of objectifying the human as well as the natural phase was felt, and immediately, we find, artists were born for attaining this purpose.

Artists of all ages have perceived in Nature and Man certain immutable universal types or phases, of which they have attempted to render faithful representation and skilful expression in the art of poetry, painting, or sculpture. All ideas, it may be maintained, are abstractions either of qualities or of forms. And ideas have been found to be the guiding factors of all art. Let us now take an example of what we have so far essayed to explain generally. It is well known that with the Greek artists the idea of the beautiful was practically everything.* And thus they eminently succeeded in bringing out that idea in the best phases of their plastic art. Similarly, the idea, though of no single attitude, but of fierceness, mildness, beauty, magnificence, meditateness and so on played a great part in the minds of the Indian artists. In this connection it would be just relevant to say that there existed a fundamental distinction between the Greek life and the Indian life. For their own sake, the bodily culture and the improvement of its form engaged the sole attention of the Greeks, whereas, contrarily, the Indian life of old ages, and probably of to-day, has been manifestly preoccupied with a contemplative phase of the human mind. Thus it is only too natural to "discern" in the products and creations of the Indian artists a faithful representation of their subjective ideals.

It is not infrequently maintained that the old Indian artist was fettered to a great extent in his freedom of expression by rules and canons but for which he could move more freely in the realm of his own art, and thus the productions which he has left utterly lacked that free play of art—that unrestrained atmosphere of life and harmony which is always the principal condition of

success in all works of art. We, however, naïvely dissent from such a view. We are rather disposed to hold that Indian literature generally, and religious literature in particular, bear clear proofs which indicate that not only were the artists directed to express in art certain symbolical representation of the essential nature of a particular icon, but to delineate, through their brush or chisel, extremely subtle poses of the image, to express in unmistakable terms various moods and gestures, be it grim or mild, meditative or grave, in which the deities are supposed to manifest before the worshipper. This presumably led to the psychological foundation of Indian art.

There is still a deeper meaning conveyed by the productions of the Indian artists,—a meaning which they so eagerly made it their aim to express in their works. Once more it may be said that the Indian images used to be wrought and fashioned for the purposes of worship. And in order that the worshipper might without much effort meditate upon them, might think that his dearest, his "Saviour," his master, his object of reverence, has come before his eyes, might forget his own individual identity and identify his own self with the image of God, the artists of India have tried their very best to render the images in as impressive and imposing a form as was possible to do within the conventions of plastic art. They believed with the devotee that "God comes near the worshipper if the images were made fine."—

"Abhirupyâchcha bimbânâm Devah sânnidhyamichchati"||' [Hayasirsa-pancârâtra.]

Another consideration of no less importance was in the minds of the Indian artists as it was in the minds of the "Rsis." In almost all phases of Indian art "Rasa" (or "impassioned feeling") has played a very prominent rôle. The Indian belief is that the supreme being is "Rasa-svarupa," or as, on other occasions, has been said—"Raso Vai Sah" (He himself is the impassioned feeling). Thus the merit of a piece of Indian art should, doubtless, be judged by the degree of "Rasa" (or impassioned feeling) it evokes in the mind of the spectator, or a worshipper. The mind and inclination

* Such a generalisation cannot apply to Early or Archaic Greek Art.—Ed.

of all people are not alike, nor are the states of temperament fixed for all times. They ever vary with individuals and with time and circumstances. Hence, we find a number of different "Rasas" which the artists loved to dwell upon in terms of stones and metals. These "Rasas" offered the fundamental qualities by which they exerted a psychological influence upon the minds of the devotee. The "Rasas," being the very core of a poem or a drama as well, have been, thus, enumerated as nine in number:—

"Sringâra hâsya karuna raudra vira bhayânaka| Bibhatsâdbhuta sangau chêtya-shtou nâtye rasâh smritâh||"

("Love, laughter, pain, sorrow, rage, animation, fear, repugnance, wonder—these are nine feelings enumerated in a drama.")

The images were so wrought by the Indian artists as to manifest one or more of these "Rasas" by their mood, pose, and gesture. The artists believed that when the mind, feeling and temperament of a devotee would come in an identical line with those of the worshipped, the realisation of one's prayer could only then be expected. Thus they furnished various images expressing not one but a variety of "Rasas," just according to the needs of the worshipper. Nor should we carelessly err in assuming

that an image conveys one single feeling in its pose. As in a man, so in an image may be discernible a mixed feeling—the result of an interaction of multiple feelings, either of similar types or even of opposing types. As for illustration, the expression of love and sublimity is regularly to be noticed in the images of "Hara-Gaurî" or "Laksmî-Nârâyana," more particularly in the "Ananta-Sayyâ" group. The feeling of laughter, but without repugnance or sarcasm, may easily be excited in us as we look at the pot-bellied image of Ganesa dancing with his elephant nose, or of Kubera, the God of Wealth, whose prototype is the modern Bâniyâ of our bazar. The mood of anger, together with the sympathetic protection ("Varâ-bhaya"), has been emphatically expressed in most of the Tântrik images which, as a rule, represent the energetic principles of the universe. In them more vividly than in others may be witnessed a mingled feeling of fear, wrath, repugnance, wonder and sportiveness. Indeed, it ought to be said that, without a trained eye in this direction, it is as impossible to appreciate the remarkable success attained by the Indian artists as it is to estimate rightly and accurately all the monumental remains of ancient Indian culture.

VIII.—REVIEW.

QUATORZE SCULPTURES INDIENNES DE LA COLLECTION PAUL MALLON
DECRIRES PAR VICTOR GOLOUBEW. A PARIS. 58 Boulevard
Flandrin. (Price not stated.)

IT is a great pleasure to welcome this beautiful portfolio of "Fourteen Indian Sculptures from the collection of Paul Mallon described by Victor Goloubew," that well-known and distinguished Russian connoisseur and collector of Oriental Art. The service that Dr. Goloubew has rendered to the cause of Persian paintings by his magnificent collection of specimens of that school now in the Boston Museum raises great hopes for the study of Indian Art, the claims of which still continue to be overlooked by most of the art connoisseurs of the world. And

the publication of this dainty little portfolio will undoubtedly help to start in Paris, the acknowledged centre of the æsthetic vortex of the Continent, a campaign against the ignorance and prejudice which have hitherto prevented a juster appreciation of the merits of Indian Art. The agitation which we owe to Mr. Havell and his series of monographs on Indian Art has hardly succeeded yet in arousing in art-coteries a tithe of the amount of interest and attention which continue to be lavished on the Far Eastern phases of Oriental Art. While it is openly admitted by enthusiasts that the

debts of Chinese and Japanese Art to Indian Art are considerable, the claims of Indian Art itself have been brushed aside in favour of an exaggerated interest in Far Eastern æsthetics, the enthusiasm for which shows no signs of abatement. In the tributes paid during the last few years to the Oriental Art generally, the Indian phase has received a very scanty share. The æsthetic qualities of Indian Painting and Sculpture deserve more distinct and individual treatment and study than has been accorded to them by vaguely regarding the Indian achievement as a minor and unimportant branch of Oriental Art. From this point of view this beautiful publication is of some significance for the future study of Indian Art. Monsieur Mallon's portfolio does not pretend to furnish materials for an elaborate study of Indian sculpture, nor does it represent its leading phases. It is a collection of fourteen plates exquisitely reproduced, each accompanied by a short descriptive note from the pen of Dr. Goloubew, who also contributes a short introduction. Of the fourteen examples reproduced, six represent the Gandhara School, of which the first plate, Bodhisattva Maitreya, is a very interesting specimen with peculiar features which distinguish it from the two somewhat analogous types in the Louvre and the Peshawar Collection. The other eight plates, mostly representing Buddhist sculpture from Magadha (Behar), executed during the supremacy of the Pala Kings (8th to 10th centuries), are of unique interest. Contrasted with the specimens of the Gandhara School, the examples from Magadha evince qualities of feeling and expression which one looks for in vain in the works of the stone masons of Gandhara. For some reasons which yet await investigations, the Buddhist sculptures of Magadha do not represent the high level of Indian plastic art, and there are various contemporary schools which surpass the achievements of Magadhan artists. A tendency towards an over-elaboration and floridness in the school of Magadha is, perhaps, obvious in comparison with the restraint and grace of Gupta sculpture. But, notwithstanding the obvious defects, the school of Magadha will afford valuable materials to judge, by

comparison, of the mechanical and lifeless character of the productions of Gandhara. And this instructive juxtaposition of plates illustrating these two widely divergent schools cannot but help towards an apprehension of the respective qualities and limitations of the two. The school of Magadha has very close relationship with its continuation in Bengal and Gaud, and these examples now published for the first time will afford fruitful materials for comparison with the collections of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. Of the eight examples reproduced here, the Hâriti (Plate X) deserves special mention, and should be compared with the examples of the same subject recently acquired by Mr. Maitra for the Varendra Research Society. Dr. Goloubew had some 'difficult puzzles to solve in identifying some of the images, particularly the mutilated ones. The "Divinité à quatre bras" (Plate XI) is no other than the four-handed figure of Vishnu, as his insignia, the conch (Shankha), on the upper left arm, will easily demonstrate. The figure in a distinctly amorous pose reproduced in Plate XII cannot be the Green Tara. It no doubt reproduces the familiar "tree and woman" motif, but cannot possibly be identified with the mother of the Buddha. Most probably it represents a dancing Apsarâ (nymph), or more accurately the daughter of Mâra, trying to tempt the Buddha, as the very significant disposition of the drapery would seem to indicate. It is unfortunate that Dr. Goloubew has been unable in his "courte notice" to adduce reasons for his supposition of the existence of "quelques éléments d'Origine étrangère" in the sculptures of the Pala epoch. It is certainly fallacious to deduce "an analogy of style" between that of Gandhara and Magadha merely from a superficial resemblance of a common iconographic formula which dictated the schemes of composition and presentation alike to the Magadha artist as to the earliest Gandharan mason. It is too often taken for granted that the stone figures of Gandhara represent the earliest efforts of the Buddhist iconographer, and the adherence to a common iconographic scheme in all subsequent schools is naïvely adduced as infallible proof of the derivation of all later

schools from that of the Gandhara, which is thus regarded as the creator or originator of all types of Buddha images. A word of warm commendation is called for by the fine quality of the half-tone blocks used for the plates, the tint of which very cleverly reproduces the colour of the clay slate stone of the originals. We are indeed grateful to the collector of these examples and to Dr.

Goloubew for collaborating to publish such an interesting little portfolio of Indian sculptures, which has been produced in such an attractive form and with such great care and sympathy. Publications such as these are sure to popularise the claims of a very interesting phase of art the study of which has a promising future before it.

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Chiefly Indian

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EDITOR'S NOTE

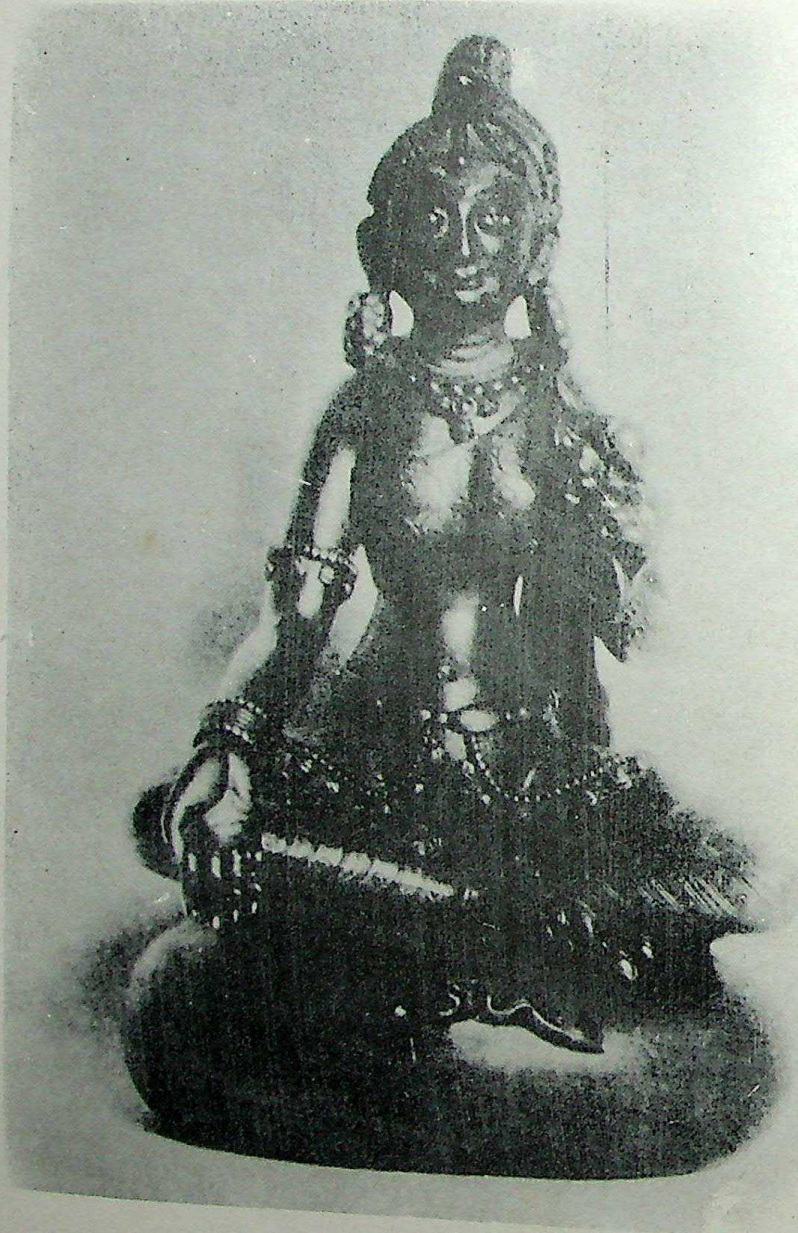
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THE subject that we have selected for our frontispiece for this number is a copper gilt figure from Nepal which is of unique interest on account of its many peculiar features. The school of Nepalese and Tibeto-Nepalese Art is the most upstart and youngest branch of Indian Art, which has had a remarkable career still surviving in active practices of living craftsmen of the present day. By a curious accident, it is a branch of Indian Art best known to European collectors and connoisseurs, and particularly in Calcutta, where collectors of Nepalese curios are numerous, this is the only school by which Indian Art is known and understood by many. We have known many collectors whose acquaintance with Indian Art and initiations into its mysteries have begun with a Nepalese curio. It is well known that an enormous amount of trade is carried on in Nepalese and Tibetan works of art, the majority of which pass through Calcutta. So that the collectors in the commercial capital of India had exceptional opportunities of acquiring some of the picks of the spoils of the Himalayan temples. The war had naturally thwarted the growth of this traffic; but the exodus of the treasures of Tibetan and Nepalese temples has resumed its nefarious activity again, though examples of unique quality and really impressive craftsmanship have latterly become less and less rare. Be that as it may, the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta, owes some of its choicest treasures to the Nepalese dealers. They helped to open a chapter of Indian Art the existence of which was almost unknown twenty years ago. Indeed, some of the remarkable specimens of Nepalese metal statuary of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have proved to be the most representative and even unique masterpieces of Indian Art, and have offered valuable documents with which Mr. Havell and others have successfully advocated the æsthetic claims of Indian Art. Indeed, it is one of the peculiar and

significant parts of the history of Indian Art that its traditions have been preserved and continued in a neighbouring Hill State by the skill of Newari craftsmen right up to the twentieth century, very much in the same manner as the Kangra artists kept alive the flame of the best traditions of Indian Painting. This feature of the history of Indian Art has evoked the somewhat disconcerting, though obviously accurate, remark that the best masterpieces of Indian Art can only be found outside the boundaries of modern India.

The outstanding feature of the example we have reproduced here that will strike all familiar with works of Tibet and Nepal is the free, unconventional and naturalistic style of the treatment of the body, as well as of the posing of the figure. It is distinctly separate and independent from the average type of Nepalese or Tibetan figures. There is nothing here of the schematic and hieratic manner of presentation characteristic of Tibeto-Nepalese images—either in its pose, in the treatment of the anatomy, or in its facial type—which has nothing in common with Nepalese statues. The other unique feature of the figure is its plain oval seat devoid of any ornamentation distinguishing it from the elaborately carved lotus-seats of Nepalese images. A further divergence from Nepalese figures is found in the nature and the treatment of the ornaments. In the poses of the hand and the attributes, we have some indications which could help us to identify the subject of the representation. The right hand is spread out with palm upwards, much in the fashion of 'varada mudrâ' (the gift-bestowing attitude), and the left hand carries a lotus with closed petals (utpala). These are the well-known attitudes characteristic of the Buddhist divinity, Târâ (saviouress), of whom as many as twenty-one varieties are known. It is the most popular deity of the Buddhist pantheon, evidenced by innumerable examples in different parts of India, Tibet, Nepal and Java. There is a

belief current in Tibet and Nepal that Târâ was incarnate in all good women. Our figure is so different from all known types of Târâ that some consideration is necessary before we could accept the identification on the basis of the poses and attributes of the hands. The green Târâ, according to our iconological text, should have her right leg hanging with the foot, supported by a small lotus. The white Târâ, again, should have her legs crossed and interlocked in what is known as 'badha padmâsana' (the locked lotus-pose), with the palms of the foot shown up. Our illustration does not answer to any of the characteristics.

Then, as a rule, in the images of Târâ the upper part of the body is absolutely uncovered, while in our picture a richly embroidered cloth is placed round the chest. These significant elements of divergences will discourage our attempt to describe the figure as of Târâ. The feature of the face and its expression are the most formidable opponent to the attribution. It has none of the inward introspective look and expression which is the inevitable characteristic of Indian images. The seated body is not seeing inward, but looking out with a merry twinkle in her eyes which indubitably stamps her with a human character and outlook. One is left to the only expedient of identifying the figure as the portrait of an upâsikâ, or lay disciple and worshipper, of whom numerous representations abound in the Nepalese temples. The worshippers are, however, invariably pictured in a formal and conventional pose, with joint palms rendering homage to divinity. Obviously, our example cannot belong to that class. The iconographic feature of the left hand holding the

lotus (utpala) cannot be ignored and has to be accounted for and explained. The belief that Târâ was incarnate in all pious female donators and virtuous ladies may be as old as the time of the Nepalese queen of the great Tibetan king, Sron-tsan-gampo. The green Târâ was supposed to have been incarnate in the Nepalese princess, daughter of Ansu Varman, whom the Tibetan king married. If we allow ourselves to accept our figure as the representation of the Nepalese princess, one of the human incarnations of Târâ, we are able to explain both the human and the iconographic peculiarity of the figure. We have noticed the merry twinkle of the eyes which is somewhat discounted by the grave and restrained smile which plays about the lips, and this bit of contradiction, perhaps, symbolises the antithesis of the human and the divine element in the incarnation. Beyond the fact that the figure was brought from Nepal by a Nepalese dealer, we have no tangible data to test the accuracy or the certainty of the supposed identification of the figure with the portrait of the Nepalese princess. The general features, and particularly the style and character of the ornaments, protest against its derivation from Nepal. If it, indeed, belongs to Nepal, then it undoubtedly offers a very curious and interesting specimen which has outgrown all the characteristics and peculiarities that we have learnt to associate with the school of Nepal. It is somewhat hazardous to date the figure, particularly in view of the utter paucity of stylistic analogies with specimens of known date. Roughly speaking, the figure cannot be older than a century, and may be of much later date. *This is a third rate example not worthy of any attention*

II.—PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ART.

By WILLIAM COHN.*

I

THE understanding of art of every nation and every epoch is retarded by nothing so much as by an exaggerated dependence on foreign in-

fluence. It is not intended to repudiate in any way the importance of such investigations from many points of view. The power of the national or individual imagination, the originality of the design, can be estimated with the help of it. But in most

*Translated for the author from the original article in German by Miss Bowden. The Editor's apology is due to Dr. Cohn for minor inaccuracies in the translation which have been unavoidable.

cases the foreign influences are not decisive, not even in the most eclectic cases of artistic dependence; as, for instance, if we consider the case of Rome and Japan in their relationship to Greece and China. Each trait of individual life which one is able to discover gives one a deeper insight than the establishment of a hundred dependencies. Unfortunately, it is too frequently that art explorers err here, and, most of all, explorers of exotic arts and culture. To quote an instance, seldom was in this direction a false note struck more incorrectly than by Oskar Munsterberg in his *History of Chinese Art*. I do not predicate that, in a general survey intended for a large circle, generally the chief stress must be placed in the individual life and expression of art. It is, however, not to be disputed that Chinese Art had to employ foreign elements, West and North Asiatic, Classic, Indian, Persian and European. It betrays, however, so it would appear to us, a lack of the feeling and sense of art (and without this, exploration of art cannot be carried out) to affirm that in the enormous domains of Chinese Art the element borrowed from abroad is the deciding factor. For the exploration of Chinese Art such a treatment is, at least for the present, not symptomatic. That Chinese painting, Chinese bronze and ceramics are probably, (in their essence), autochthonic plants very few have, yet, been able to dispute. And, in connection with this, the forthcoming work of R. F. Martin will probably not change any of our ideas on the subject, and it may be expected that in his work nothing less will be proved than "that Western Asia, Egypt, Greece and Rome have co-operated in order to create (out of the existing beginnings, which always revealed a great manual dexterity) an art which we call Chinese." The preceding observations may, however, be taken as symptomatic of the researches made in the field of Indian Art. The best known works on Indian Art, if they do not deal with iconographical questions, devote the greatest space to the study of foreign influences. For the matter of that, of what the real nature of Indian Art consisted, one had up till now very little space left. It is only quite

recently that a change has set in, which draws continually wider circles. It is without doubt that we are approaching a complete change in our attitude towards Indian Art. Our age of æsthetic valuation will certainly not forget India. The leaders of this movement are E. B. Havell and A. K. Coomaraswamy. We will not conceal the fact that their work is not quite highly appreciated in the circle of the older school of scholars. Both these writers are, in fact, more artists than scholars. The value of their work lies in the inspiration which they have for their cause—which makes them sometimes shoot beyond the goal—in their intuitive insight into the deepest nature of Indian art-perceptions. If, however, many of their views are still awaiting scientific confirmation, no future explorer will be able to pass by their fruitful and spiritual interpretations. The exploration of Indian Art has undoubtedly received a new and strong impulse through them.

II

On ancient Indian Art we have established Ægean, Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, Hellenic, Roman, Chinese, Islamic and Modern European influences. And, generally speaking, this cannot be shaken. We have even to suppose that in this direction (in which the study of Eastern-Asiatic, Central Asiatic and Persian Art enters more largely) many new discoveries will yet be made. Above all, probably Persia will step more prominently into the foreground. Islamic and classical influences (there the matter may rest) have survived the most. These confronted the newer art of India only since the twelfth century and in the course of time produced, indeed, distinctive revolutions. But even in the domain of Indo-Mahomedan Art a growing success has helped to displace, gradually, ancient Indian features. But here the Indian genius seems to have been more creative than one had up till now commonly supposed. We do not propose to introduce the Indo-Mahomedan Art into the present discussion any further.

The greatest attention has been excited by the Greek influences, which are so easy to perceive. Greek Art is supposed to have

influenced ancient Indian Art to so high a degree that it has essentially decided its character. The flying march of Alexander the Great to India (B. C. 327-324) is supposed already to have called forth important revolutions. In the time of the Kushan Dynasty (about A.D. 45-225) falls, then, on the Indian Borderland, Gandhara, the bloom of that art, which has been justly called Indo-Hellenic, and, somewhat incorrectly, Greco-Buddhist. And from Gandhara a stream is supposed to have flown out, which left distinctive marks on many branches of Indian Art. That Gandhara should have decided the aspect of Eastern Asiatic Buddhist Art is here only alluded to *en passant*. Many scholars are constantly at work to discover ever new classical traits in Indian Art; many of the discoveries cannot be questioned. That occasionally exaggerations do occur is not of much importance. The classic elements are certainly mostly very striking. As really classic and Indian Art, in their motives, stand almost diametrically opposed to each other, one would almost assert that even some one, who never had a genuine classical and genuine ancient Indian work before his eyes, would, with an educated sense of style, discover a discrepancy. The art of Gandhara is, indeed, partially a creation of the West. The school of Mathura also shows Hellenistic traces, as also many more indigenous schools. Indeed, at the Gupta period (4th-6th century) Greco-Roman Art may once more have attracted the interest of Indian craftsmen. This would not be surprising, considering the brisk commercial intercourse of India with the Roman Empire.

Should we adopt this presentation of Indian Art, and actually study it through specimens and counterspecimens, then Indian Art would actually almost appear to be an out-and-out non-independent conglomeration, without any creative power. Indeed, thus is the picture occasionally drawn. And from its own productions it is often sought to be established in this connection that, at best, Indian Art is, indeed, very poor.

A greater misapprehension of the real conditions is, so it would at least seem to us, difficult to imagine. The concentration upon the foreign influences and their scope and

sphere, (apart from the application of a wholly false standard), has led to this conception. One forgets to cast one's eyes, even for once, upon the ensemble of the entire growth, upon that development which becomes visible to us in the time of the Emperor Asoka (B.C. 273-231?). Then things take a quite different aspect. The foreign influence shrivels down to diminutive and insignificant elements such as no other art in the world, not even the classic, can be said to be entirely free from. A border province appears more strongly influenced; in other provinces the foreign elements appear sporadically or as mere accessories. By far in the greater and most important centres it is so negligible that one need not waste a single word over it. Indeed, however defective our knowledge still is, without much trouble and without too hazardous an hypothesis, even now an autochthonous immanent development of Indian Art can generally be recognized. The motifs of Indian Art appear in its broad lines, almost at all times, essentially intelligible in itself. To every sensible and perceptive mind it must be clear that it was fundamentally Indian genius which created Indian Art and drove it forward to attain to that greatness and magnificence which at Bharhut and Sanchi, at Karli and Amaravati, at Elura (Ellora) and Ajanta, at Mârnallapuram and Java, in Cambodia and Ceylon, at Bhuvaneshvar, Tanjore and Konarak, at Nellore, Madras and Ramesvaram, and in the Southern Indian bronzes, created imperishable and distinctive works.

One of the most significant gifts which Gandhara, and, through it, the classical art, is supposed to have made to India was (so it is always stated) the first representation of the historical Buddha. Not even this achievement one should, without further investigation, ascribe to Gandhara. Matters are not so simple as they would appear at first sight. It is incontrovertible that the most ancient sculptural representation of this historical Buddha known to us at the present day is to be found in the art of Gandhara. It may also actually be that there for the first time the thought struck them to erect the statue of the historical Buddha in place

of the symbols. This is by no means certain. Having regard to the abundance of the still undiscovered treasures of India, possibly an earlier statue of Buddha may yet come to light. We have yet to take another fact into account. Even if the fame of Gandhara should not be under-estimated in this direction, yet, perhaps, the Indian share in this achievement may be larger than the foreign. No Buddha discovered in Gandhara signifies a beginning. Distinctly two existing elements are united closely, the Indian and the classical. Similar representations must have existed before the beginning of the Gandhara school. In fact, the signs and indices of the Buddha (the idea of the Mahâpurusha, with his 32 Lakshanams of Chakravartin) are older than Greco-Buddhist art; they are even older than the historical Buddha. They are, indeed, peculiar to Indian spiritual life, as also to the idea of the transmigration of the soul. Figures in the pose of a Buddha are found already plentifully on the bas-reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi. We may suppose that, besides the ancient Brahmanic deity, Lakshmi, who there, among others, is conceived in this manner, other Brahmanic deities generally were represented in a similar pose. Without the existence of similar and kindred figures the adoption of the representations of the historical Buddha is hardly intelligible. An ancient Indian motif seems to have been hellenised. Indeed, it is quite possible that a certain group of later representations of the Buddha could be traced back to an earlier prototype, without claiming the mediation of Gandhara.

III

Never was the whole complex structure which we to-day call India, a political unit. Different races, different languages and dialects were and are still opposed to each other. The different races tore themselves to pieces in an almost uninterrupted series of wars. But at intervals peaceful periods recurred, in which at least a great portion of India, as we understand it to-day, was united under one sceptre. The Aryan immigration had indeed already laid a foundation for an unity. Moreover, the spiritual and material intercourse, the unity

of the races within the continents, at all times seems to have been sufficiently intensive in order to produce, to a certain degree, an united Indian culture, and in consequence a homogeneous Indian Art. In spite of the different styles which developed and perfected themselves, to a certain extent, in close proximity, Indian Art may be considered to be an united organism. Matters have been very much similar to those in the mediæval German Empire or Europe. Greater divergences did not split the unity of India. And yet it has been possible to form a general view of German or of European Art of the Middle Ages without too great a violence to its different elements. And in this view there would be no impropriety in ignoring the peculiar features of the different schools of Indian Art.

The development of Indian Art has never partaken of that tremendous pace which, at almost all times, characterised the development of European Art (one should not forget how short the Periclean age of high renaissance was). It is just the peculiarity of the Asiatic temperament to rejoice longer and in a more leisurely fashion in what has been acquired. Tradition, culture and reverence of the pupil for his master play quite a different part in India than in other countries. Yet the development of Indian Art is sufficiently rich and replete with life and vitality. The assertion of a stagnation of art has been already proved to be erroneous as the result of a deeper investigation in the cases of the art of China and of Japan. As regards India, the question of any stagnation cannot possibly arise. Let us attempt to give here, in a few words, a cursory view of the total development of Indian Art. To present it in minute details is, perhaps, not yet possible. It is difficult, indeed, for one single individual to grasp more than superficially the rich variety and multiplicity of the treasures of Indian Art hitherto discovered. The treasures of many centres have not yet been seriously investigated, nor published in accessible forms. Moreover, every day brings new discoveries. And so it is destined to remain for a long time. Therefore, one may not venture, as yet, to present the history of the development of Indian Art in exact

parallelism with the European or perhaps with the Chinese, with which it has evidently much in common. Only the principal centres of the different periods can somehow be juxtaposed and their aims indicated cursorily.

The earliest of the monuments of Indian Art hitherto discovered originate from about the time of Asoka (middle of the third century B. C.)* The remains are very few. Perhaps only a few of the reliefs on the railing of the stupa at Bharhut can be dated so far back. The decorations of the stupa at Sanchi and Buddhagaya, the cave-temple at Udayagiri, Nasik and Karli, lead a step further. About three centuries of Indian Art, undoubtedly of an age of great artistic richness, have survived in a few, though quite accidental, specimens. They tested their skill on the decoration of monumental works; they had, above all, a joy in genuine and unprejudiced delineation of Indian life and Indian nature. In sharp contrast to these stand some of the motifs (*e.g.*, fabulous animals) borrowed from the West. This cannot, however, obliterate the impression that these scenes, replete with direct and intimate perception, are out and out products of Indian soil.

In the Kushan period (1st-3rd century A.D.) the workshops of Gandhara seem to have developed their principal activity, which is attested by many thousand sculptures surviving to-day. Also in Mathura a school strongly influenced by the Greek ideas appears to have grown up. But the greater number of the works of the Mathura school, which belong to this place, is purely Indian. Further, in the relief of the stupa at Amaravati the Greek element does not play any prominent part. On the contrary, true Indian Art grew and spread itself in the joy and fullness of its life, enriching itself in one direction, impoverishing itself in another, as is the course of every development in art. In such manner the great art of all the flourishing periods created itself. The art of division of surfaces and the mastery of the principles of

composition and movement were not lessons picked up at a late stage. Amaravati, in this respect, represents a high level of achievement. On this point one should study and investigate the monumental remains of Amaravati, the greater part of which are exhibited in the Museum of Madras. The wealth and the certainty of the revelation will arouse ever fresh surprises. One can hardly imagine that this art being of one uniform mould should have any particular æsthetic relation to the hybrid forms of Gandhara. Already many a document of the Kushan period is known, and much will yet be brought to light. The picture of a true type of Indian Art, even out of the remains of the Kushan period, is yet certainly to emerge.

The next 'dynasty, which was able once again to unite under one sceptre considerable parts of India, was that of the Gupta (4th-6th century A.D.). It is somewhat hazardous to consider the three centuries of the Gupta period separately. The number of monuments which to a certain degree can be accurately dated is yet very few. Besides the period of the brilliant reign of King Harsha (A.D. 606-48), the last great Indian monarch, no work datable with accuracy has up till now been generally known. For our purpose it is best to include the period from the fourth to about the ninth century as one large section.

Of the little that one knows of the details of the art of these 500 years, so much is sure, that the zenith of Indian Art generally is to be looked for within this period. What magnificent monuments have been preserved! How much have perished! How much will yet come to light! Let us only refer to the most imposing specimens which without any reservation may be placed side by side with the highest accomplishments of the art of the world. We can begin our hasty survey with the temple at Deogarh which must have been erected early in the Gupta period. During the same period, also, came into existence the most important Cave and Rock temples of Ajanta with their charming paintings and Elura and Badami with their vital sculptures and refined decorations. In the West of India, the

* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal claims to have discovered earlier examples in the so-called statues of Sisunaga. *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, March 1919.

rocks of Elephanta awoke to artistic life and preserve, up till to-day, almost untouched, one of the grandest representations of a deity that exists on earth. Only Egypt was capable of producing a somewhat analogous conception. The oldest temples of Bhuvaneshvar, according to Gothic manners, teem with sculptures glowing with passion and inexhaustible variety of ornaments, in innumerable towers (Vimana) pointing towards heaven, belong probably to this period. In the South of India the Pallavas were at the helm. Rulers of this dynasty deserve the gratitude of posterity for the Rock-Temples (Ratha) and sculptures of Mâmallapuram (Mâvalipuram, Seven Pagodas). The Kailâsanâtha Temple at Kânci (Conjeevaram) even to-day testifies to the great splendour of their habitations. Polonnaruwa, the capital of Ceylon, must have stood, at that time, in its flourishing epoch. The monuments in Java (Boroubudur) and Cambodia (Angkor) were evidently begun at the same time. They rival each other by the magnitude and by the uniformity of their artistic accomplishments, and captivate every visitor to these ruins. The beauty of these monuments is not at all sufficiently known, and a detailed study has only just begun.

All these creations have distinctly common traits,—magnificence of conception coupled with supreme command over materials, superb equilibrium of composition and a joyous delineation executed in powerful proportions, richness in decoration with inexhaustible imagination. All representations are with a mighty sweep transported out of the reach of the common and lifted up into an atmosphere in which only gods can breathe.

It is, indeed, strange that only recently one is beginning properly to recognise the surpassing position of these periods in the history of Indian Art. One did know, nevertheless, long ago that India's literature at that time experienced a renaissance heretofore unknown and that the country also stood politically on an extraordinary height. A series of the most distinguished rulers were at the helm—Samudragupta I (died about 375 A.D.) was not only one of the enterprising princes but also one of the

most cultured Indian monarchs. With the Court of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya (at the close of the fourth century), the famous Indian poets seem to have been closely associated and were idealised as the precious gems of Sanskrit literature. Kalidâsa is the most famous name among them. The Empire of King Harsha (606–48) was nearly just as comprehensive as that of Asoka. The Chinese travellers who, at that time, visited India give us informations about many Indian towns: Pataliputra, at that time capital of the Guptas; Ujjain, the very ancient trading place; Kanauj, the seat of Harshavardhan; Kanchi, the capital of the South Indian Pallavas. Nalanda, the university town, must have belonged to the most brilliant centres of the world at that time.

And to India of these centuries the foreign contemporaries seem indeed to have ascribed an honourable position. It was not for nothing that the greedy eyes and wishes of the Huns were directed again and again towards it. Not in vain did China repeatedly send out ever new pilgrims to India. The most tangible evidence of the appreciation of Indian culture in the Far Eastern world is possibly the fact that the Chinese Buddhistic Art of the T'ang-period (602–907), to a considerable degree, bowed to Indian influence. It is not the school of Gandhara, as is often maintained, but Indian Art of these five hundred years, that has left its fingermarks on the Chinese Buddhistic Art of the T'ang period, and along with it, also, to a certain extent on Japanese Art of the Nara period (719–84). An exclusive concentration on the Gandhara school, to the utter neglect of all other centres, could only obscure these very clear facts, which should have been deduced long ago from general considerations.

Should one wish to attain a point of view of the last period of the activity of Indian Art (10th–18th century), one had best of all think of the Post-Gothic or the baroque of European development. Art motifs with everything that is attractive and everything that is repulsive, with facile ornaments and exaggerations, with all

possible crowds of decorations and over-loading of these styles, seem to govern later Indian Art. And the masterpieces are, it appears, quite as densely or sparingly distributed as in Europe, just according to the point of view one takes up towards the baroque style. In any event, quite a series of unique creations have been preserved. Let us allude only to the most imposing specimens. North-Indian (Aryavaria, Indo-Aryan) style and South Indian (Dravidian) style, the two chief Indian styles of the past epoch and known only in sporadic examples, speak to us in the period under review in an abundance almost impossible to overlook. Most of the temples of Bhuvaneshvar, the Temple of Khajuraho, the Jagannath of Puri, the sun-temple of Konarak with its very plethoric representations of sensual love carved in stone, came into existence in the earlier centuries. Not much later sprang up many Jaina Temples in Kathiawar, Gujrat and Rajputana, in which, as opposed to the temples of Orissa, even the interior walls, pillars, and ceilings are profusely overlaid with sculptures and decorations. The Jaina Temples on Mount Abu belong to the less pure style of Indian architecture which are not even missed in the repertoire of the globe-trotter.

In South India with its still flourishing temple-cities, the big temple of Tanjore, first of all, deserves mention. In the thirteenth century Vijayanagar was the capital of the most powerful South Indian Empire which was able to offer resistance to the Islamic invasions. Many ruins testify to the splendour of the city. Certain other temples at Kumbhakonam, Conjeevaram, Vellore and Srirangam belong to this period. The most renowned are the South Indian temples of the later centuries in their somewhat lavish trappings. The well-preserved buildings of Madura, Tanjore and Ramesvaram, with their massive pyramid-towers (Gopuram) studded with figures, and the never-ending passages and pillar-halls crowded with Brahmins, conjure up the most vivid picture of religious life before our eyes which India is able to offer today. During the period between the 12th and the 17th century, the Saivaitic bronzes now in the Museums of Madras and Colombo may

have been cast. The dancing Siva of the Madras Museum, with its wonderful rhythm so different from the classic standard, will impress more specially on the students of the present age in search of the ideals of art.

IV

It is very well known how heavily the grave criticism of certain periods of European Art had to suffer and are still suffering owing to the exaggerated position given to the classic and high-renaissance ideals as universally authentic standards of all art. How utterly impossible it must have been for the artistic achievements of exotic nations to obtain a footing in the council of the worshippers of classical standard, and to this must also be added the prejudice with the usual exaggerated conceit of the European, who in the depth of his heart felt and still feels himself to be the supreme custodian of all truth, morality and beauty. Indian Art had, perhaps, the most difficult position to face. Because Indian Art, so it was thought, in the school of Gandhara and in its ramifications, has, as it were, itself acknowledged the supremacy of the Greek standard. A gross error! The truth rather lies the other way about. The whole development of Indian Art proves that the Greek ideal made only a superficial impression in India. And yet almost everywhere Indian Art immediately reverted to its indigenous ideals. How could it have been otherwise? The Indians were, indeed, no classically cultured philologists to whom everything Greek must have appeared sacred. How could the authors of the Upanishads, the believers in Mahâyâna, the followers of Siva, Vishnu and the Sakti, in their unhistorical mind have had any sympathy for the entirely differently oriented bent of mind? Indian Art stands much in the same relation to Greek Art as, perhaps, the Mahâyânasutra, the Purânas and the Tantras stand to Grecian literature. In this has also to be found the potent and vital reason for the spiritual vacuity and inanity of most of the creations of the Gandhara. Denationalised Hellenists or denationalised Indians were their authors. The first did not understand the new surroundings,

the latter, not the foreign intruder. Greek Art (and through it, European Art, in so far as it depends on it) and Indian Art are poles asunder. One feels this at every comparison. Yet it is not easy to indicate and to describe the differences in a few words. Ancient Greek Art is no more for us a homogeneous structure, it has gone through a long and greatly varied development, and so has Indian Art. In another place we have made an attempt to characterize the divergence of the art motifs with rather imperfect success. Perhaps here we may approach a step further.

Accuracy of observation and intuitive exuberance stand opposite to each other, striving after objective truth and after subjective expression. Antique Greek Art proceeds from the human body and allows spiritual expression to come to life in the face at the most; Indian Art proceeds from the spiritual and compels the merely physical to stand back and exalts the body (even in the most weakest representation of physical love). When Greek Art introduces movements and gestures, these are there mostly on account of the problems of forms, or because they are necessary for the achievement of a certain action. Indian Art makes use of the movements of the human body and those of its limbs, above all, for the representation of spiritual expression. This spiritual character pervades not only (and indeed often in a not too accentuated degree) in the features of the face, but quite as much or more strongly in the characteristic gestures (arms, hands and fingers), in the inclination of the head, in the flexions and directions of the body, indeed, in the position of the legs and feet. These motives are for Indian Art the accentuated problems (and they are its special peculiarity), but not the organic representation of the human body, its anatomy, the play of the muscles, the functions of the joints. All this is often completely neglected, because the artist did not at all wish to represent the same. The former art is at its basis tectonic and imitative, the latter lineal and expressive.

The contrasts and divergences which (or more accurately the directions of which) we have hitherto tried to indicate, lie within the

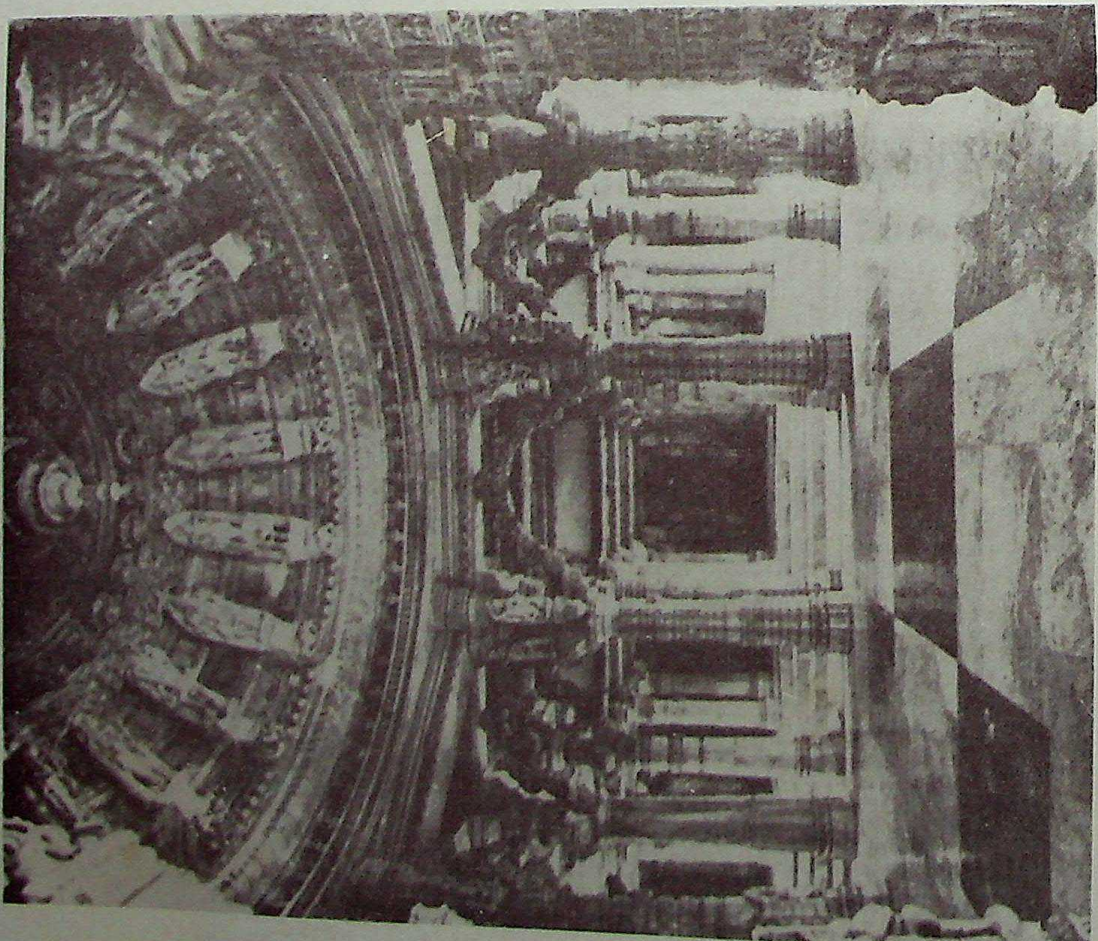
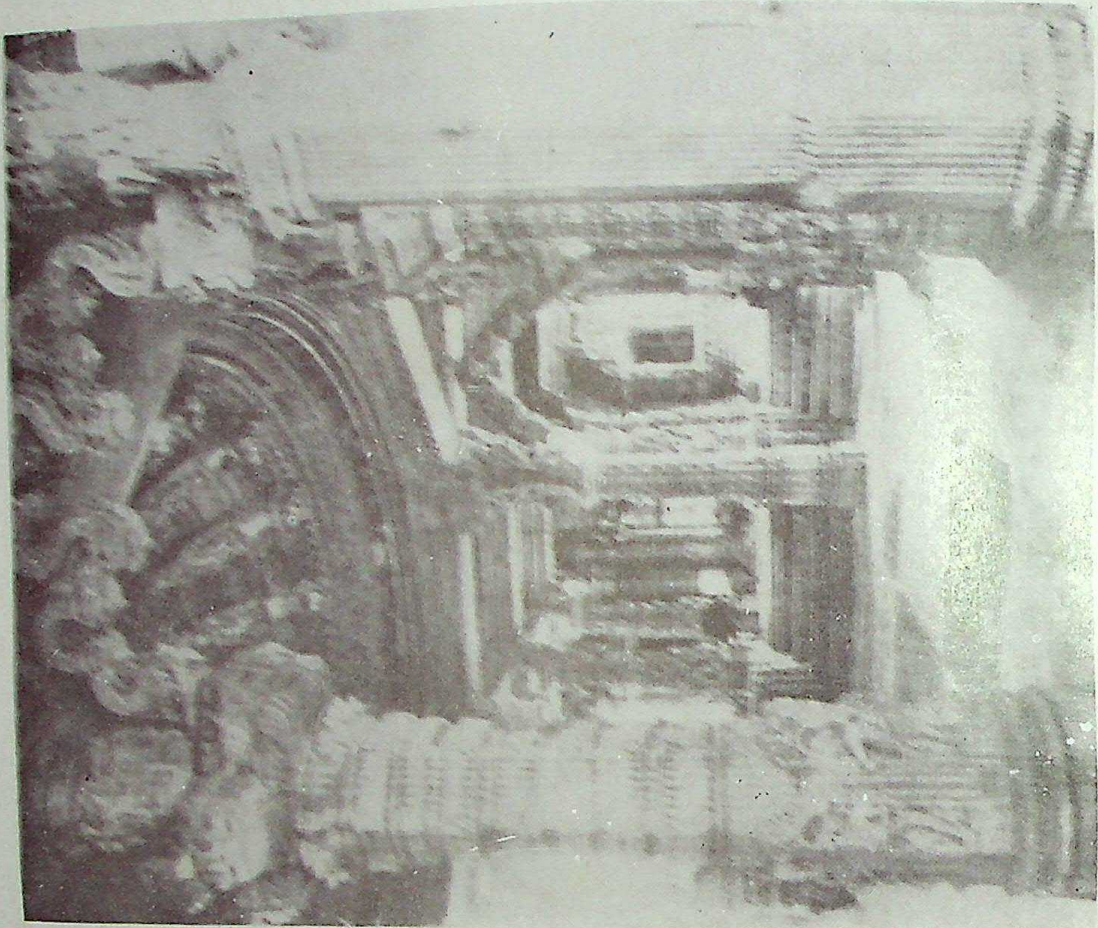
sphere of an art which is essentially pre-occupied with realism. The Indian has, however, taken another step, which the artist of the European antique school does not know at all or only in its rudiments. Exactly as in Egypt, the motive was to work towards an abstract monumental art to create a real representation of the Divine and the Celestial. The human body ceases altogether, as it were, to play a part of its own,—it is brought down to be a mere means for visualising divine symbols to human eyes and the devotion of men. In this direction the Indian has, perhaps, executed his highest accomplishments. The Buddhistic caves of Ajanta and Elura, the sculptures of which are still so little known, contain representations of deities, beside which the European achievements appear almost insignificant. Let us refer again to the Trimurti of Elephanta which we have already cited. Only an art of which the physical body was never the aim is in a position to aspire to such symbols of deities. Being fully acquainted with these facts, it becomes also immediately intelligible that Indian Art, without any trouble, was led to the multiplication of limbs and to gigantic dimensions and to combinations of different classes of beings,—attempts which, although found in Europe, have fundamentally remained foreign to European Art. China and Japan joined in their presentations of deities in the same direction. Let us emphasise here that they were peculiar to the flourishing period of the Indian expression; to Gandhara Art our details correspond only to a very small degree. One should think of the Chinese and Japanese Dai-Batsu and of the entire pantheon of Chen-yen-tsung—(Shingon) sect.

With the lack of all scientifically-anatomical aims in Indian Art, naturally, is also associated the fact that in representations of scenes, the perspective in the European sense has no place. As for the Chinese and Japanese, so also for the Indian, artistic and impressive space composition counts for everything, but hardly, the representation of dimension. Just as anatomical truth, so also was perspective truth not the aim of Indian Art.

In the face of the many divergences the chief directions of which have been pointed out here, it would seem almost incomprehensible how one could judge and measure Indian Art with the same standard as European Art. A criticism or explanation in this connection in terms of scientific accuracy is absolutely worthless. Only according to immanent principles, that is to say, only by values created by itself, it has to be measured. It is æsthetically irrelevant whether a figure has many heads, legs or hands. The question is only this,—from among the endless rows of many-headed figures to find out the artistically most valuable. It is immaterial whether a scene is represented “correctly” from the point of view of perspective; it is only important that it is animated from within. Just as the Indian question belongs to those problems which are most involved and most difficult to solve, which the politics of the modern time presents, so also may Indian Art be the most rich in riddles among the arts of many nations, the study of which the present generation has taken up. We have in the preceding paragraph touched, naturally, only upon a few of the principal problems. And let it be emphasised once more that fewer solutions can be offered, rather than indications in which direction these solutions should be looked for. How much time will yet pass until the examples hinted at by us will be treated without demur and prejudice and in an exhaustive manner? How great is the number of the problems which we have simply passed by? How did the beginnings of Indian Art appear? Everywhere it impresses us as a picture completed to a certain degree. It must be much older than the most ancient monuments known. Nothing has been preserved from the time before Asoka. We must presume that flimsiness or preciousness of materials employed (bricks, earth, wood, ivory, and metals of every description) ordained and designed all earlier works for destruction. The style of those preserved and the literary sources offer many points for this contention. Why are all the known ancient monuments Buddhistic? Could there not have been a pre-Buddhistic,—a Brahminic Art? Impossible. The sources testify

against this. And within the most ancient Buddhistic art are found quite a group of ancient Brahminic deities and motives. Are we to suppose that only Buddhistic masters introduced these motives into art? What part is to be assigned to the Dravidian races in Indian culture and art? Their most oldest creations of art, known up to date, date only from the 7th century. But that the Dravidians stood already on a certain stage of culture when the Aryan tribes began to immigrate into India, is beyond doubt. What did their more ancient art look like? For various reasons it may be conceded that its importance in the domain of plastic art has to be estimated more highly than has hitherto been done. Perhaps, among the Indian races the Aryans were the thinkers, the Dravidians were the craftsmen. In what relationship do the ancient Indian styles of architecture in general stand to each other? Were they developed upon a common basis or from different centres? Or did they come into existence from the partial fusion of different styles? No one has yet studied the entire growth of Indian decorative art. How did its development terminate? How strong was the inventive power of the Indian imagination in decorative works? What share is to be assigned to foreign elements within its entire career? Who created the art of Java and Indo-China? Here, also, we stand suddenly facing a full-grown art, which is certainly dependent on India, and yet has much that is its own. Neither the pantheon of Hinduism nor that of the Mahâyâna, both of great magnitude, have been exhaustively examined as to their origin and development, or, perhaps, have only been just pieced together. No one has yet explained in a really adequate manner all its mysterious motives. How are the representations of the freest erotic art to be explained iconographically, which cover the temples of Orissa? For the present totally contradictory explanations are standing opposite to each other. All these problems, not to speak at all of many detailed questions, are still awaiting scientific treatment.

The number of those who are working at the problems of research in Indian Art is also very limited in England and in India.



At the Universities, with the exceptions of a limited few, none is occupied with the Indian as with the Chinese and Japanese Art. The philological and ethnological stand-points, as opposed to these aspects of cultures, are, yet, almost all-engrossing. The few investigators who at least casually were occupied with Indian Art discourage new work rather than encourage it. A real presentation of the history of Indian Art or

of one of its branches does not exist and cannot yet exist. That which has been produced on the basis of what is known to-day can hardly be regarded as completely satisfactory. The work of the Director General of Indian Archæology, Sir John Marshall, which is shortly to appear as a part of the Cambridge History, may, perhaps, lead a step further.

III.—SOME TEMPLES ON MOUNT ABU.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR.

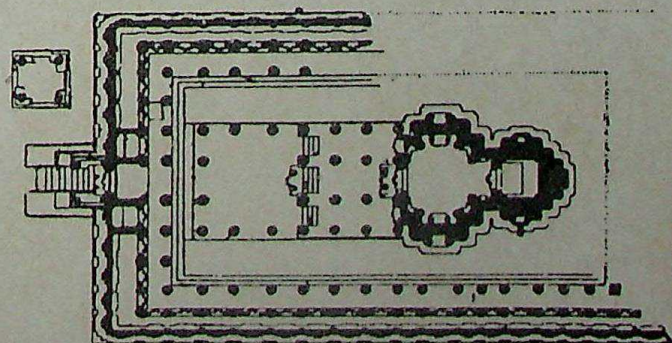
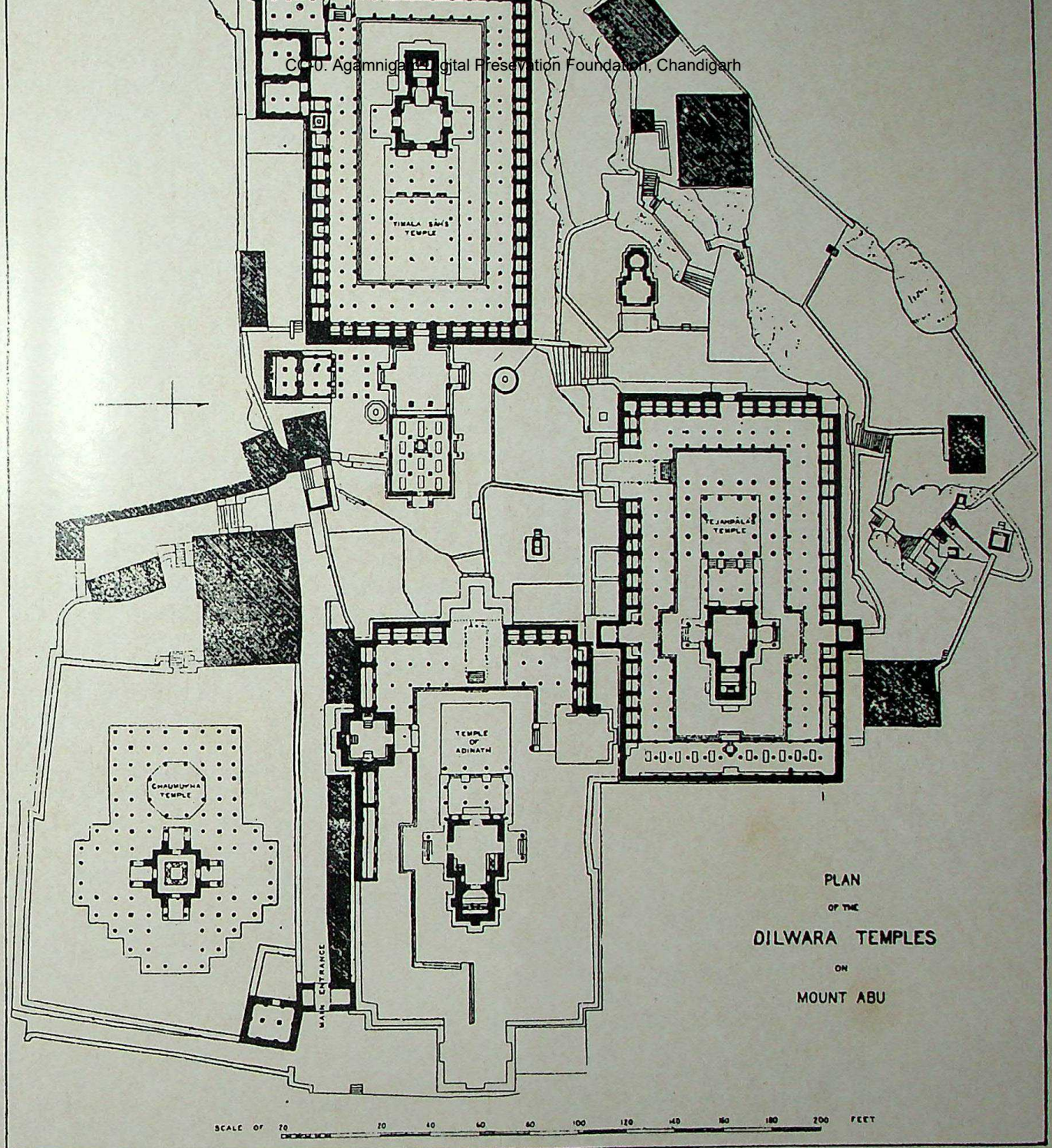
“**L**’ARCHITECTURE,” says Le Bon, “est beaucoup plus fille de la race que des croyances” (Architecture is more a product of the race than of creeds). And notwithstanding the artificial, and in some cases misleading, classifications of Indian Art into religious groups, Indian Art, as such, is, in the main, independent of variations in creed. And a student of Indian Art is likely to miss the psychology and significance of the history of art in India if he fails to realise the non-sectarian character of the main current of Indian craft traditions. And in many cases it is an absurd solecism to characterise any style as “Buddhistic,” “Jaina,” or “Hindu” merely from the accident of its employment under the service of any of these creeds, the fact being that practically the same general principles and canons of art have been employed in the service of different and even antagonistic creeds. Thus many forms of cave temples which were applied to meet the demands of Buddhist religion have also been employed to answer the requirements of Saiva worship. Thus the celebrated Seven Pagodas of Mâmallapuram dedicated to the worship of Siva may be deduced from analogous forms used at Ellora for the edification of Buddhist or Jain creeds. The canons of craftsmanship were Indian first, and became Buddhist, Hindu, or Jaina afterwards, according to the patronage for the time being received from the adherents of one or other of these creeds. From this point of view, strictly speaking, there is no Buddhist or Jaina architecture—though there are various local variations of style and also, in

a few cases, a certain fundamental divergence in forms and ideals of architectural conception. And any particular style, however closely it may be associated with a particular creed, cannot logically be characterized as the necessary product of that creed. In this way the style of architecture that occurs in many Jaina places of pilgrimage, e.g., Palitana, Satrunjaya, Girnar and Mount Abu, cannot be correctly described as a “Jaina style,” as Fergusson was led to call it by its association with Jaina worship. Yet the temples at these famous shrines offer some common characteristics and features which, though not originating from Jain creeds, may have developed such common features under the patronage of Jaina merchants of Guzrat. Curiously enough, these common features of the so-called “Jaina style” are shared by such a well-known Hindu shrine as the famous temple of Somnath, which is situated only 49 miles south of the hill of Girnar, and also by the sun-temple at Mudhera. Though Brahmanical temples, they illustrate the style employed by the Jains in Guzrat from the 10th to the 13th century, the most typically developed examples of which are offered by the famous temples erected by Tejpal and Vimala Shah on Mount Abu. On the other hand, we find that at Ellora the Jains have employed the Dravidian temple forms of Southern India. Under the circumstances it is almost impossible to claim for the Jaina temples a specially original character. But although the many component features which make the so-called “Jaina style” what it is, have been derived from earlier architectural practices, the homogeneous mingling

of these peculiarities in an imposing form not met with elsewhere cannot but be associated with the activity of the Jaina builders who, if they have not originated a style, certainly helped towards a fresh development and a new presentation of familiar and well-known architectural forms. Indeed, as Mr. Havell points out that "the Jains in their temple building usually followed the structural tradition of the Brahmanical sects" (*Indian Architecture*, 1913, p. 16), and if we compare any of the Jaina temples with the earliest types of Hindu shrines (*vide Plan*) we find that the fundamental structural elements are the same. We have first the nucleus of the temple in the "garva griha" ("holy of holies"), the primitive cell in which was located the image or object of worship; then a space corresponding to what is known as "antarâla," and then the "mandapam," the hall for the worshippers; and finally, surrounding these three units, we have the circumbulating passage, the "pradakshina"—which in its turn is enclosed by the "prākâra," or the walled enclosure, which is often honey-combed with innumerable minor shrines. This fundamental unity of Indian temple architecture is also emphasized by other writers. James Burgess, to whom we owe various publications on the antiquities of Guzrat, has observed: "The style of architecture which is so prevalent in Western India has sometimes been called, from certain of its best known examples, the Jaina or Guzrat style. It was not, however, in any way more a Jaina style than a Brahmanical one. The prevalence of the Jains, and the temples they built from the eleventh century at Abu and elsewhere in Guzrat, has led to this misnomer—as if it were the style of the sect. The fact is that it is the style of a geographical area and almost of a period—for the Brahmanical temples at Siddhapur, Somnatha and Ambarnatha are built in the same style as those of the Jains at Mount Abu and Bhadresvara; and it is this style, adapted to Muhammadan wants, that we find at a later date characterizing the buildings of Ahmedabad, Champaner, Dholka and other Mussalman cities of Guzrat. It has affinities with the Chalukyan style developed in the Dekhan, but is that employed in the

Rajput Kingdom of Rajputana and in the Dekhan during the tenth and following centuries (Burgess, "The Antiquities of Dabhoi," 1888, pages 1 & 2).

The temples of Rajputana and Guzrat belong to one of the two parallel currents of the same building epoch to which we owe the most magnificent monuments of Upper India before the invasion of Mahomedan culture. The period between the 10th and the 13th century—during which the Ganga Kings were erecting the Sikhara Temples in Orissa—exactly synchronises with the corresponding building activity in Guzrat, which practically begins with the Jain temples at Palitana (960 A.D.) and ends with the Tejpâl Temple at Mount Abu (1231 A.D.), thus including within the span the Sikhara Temples at Khajarahô. The models of the Tejpâl Temple persisted a few years more in later imitations which carry the tradition of the school upto about the end of the 13th century. The most active part of the career of this school thus falls between 1031 A.D., the date of Vimala Shah's Temple at Mount Abu, and 1254 A.D., the date of the temples at Dabhoi. A peculiar significance is attached to these two dates and may help us to understand the cause of the peculiar intensity of its fertile building epoch. It begins, so to speak, within seven years from the sack of Somnath by Mahmud of Ghazni (1024 A.D.) and ends within a few years of the invasion of Guzrat by Allauddin Khiliji (1297 A.D.). The outrageous desecration and destruction of the famous temple of Somnath—the fabulous magnificence of which has never been surpassed—must have lashed into extraordinary fury the fire of faith which set to work, with unflinching resolve, to rebuild the temple at Somnath, with an energy which soon brought to life a virile school of temple building which flowered out in the magnificent examples at Mount Abu. In these great Jaina temples are crystallised, as it were, the aspiration and the dynamic consciousness of a great era of national life characterized by the fine frenzy of a religious zeal which flared up by a furious contact with an iconoclastic faith. Yet it would be somewhat misleading to attempt to explain the gems of Jaina and Hindu



architecture of this period by regarding them as the mere product of the retaliation of an outraged religious faith. Mahmud's invasion only stimulated and intensified the character of the activity which existed, long prior to the invasion, in the Hindu shrine of Somnath and many other Saiva temples of the ninth and tenth centuries and also in many Jaina shrines at Palitana and Girnar in Guzrat. The group of temples on Mount Abu was not an isolated phenomenon—but the logical outcome and culmination of a long period of artistic activity having an interesting history spreading over three centuries. During this period the sword of Islam had a somewhat regenerating effect upon the Jaina and Hindu culture which it sought to uproot. One of the obvious results of the Mahomedan invasion was the change that it wrought in the nature of the patronage of art. Hitherto the foundation and endowment of the temples appear to have been the peculiar privilege of royal patrons. In most cases the donor and builder of temples were invariably royal personages. During the period, we have been considering here, the patronage passed into the hands of merchants and humbler subjects. Most of the imposing Jaina edifices arose under the munificent patronage of Jaina Banias. And the temples on Mount Abu are very characteristic and typical examples of architecture of the people, as opposed to architecture of kings. Before we proceed to study the Jaina temples on Mount Abu, it may be useful to make a few remarks on the antiquity of the place, which seems to suggest that it was not in any sense a peculiarly Jaina site although the architectural magnificence of the Jaina builders put to shade the contributions made by the followers of other religions.

Abu is the modern form of the Sanskrit Arbuda, which hill we find mentioned even in so early a work as the Mahabharata. The mythical origin of the place is thus described. In the golden days of old when the gods visited the earth and mingled freely with mortals, the spot, where Abu now stands, was beloved of Siva and of the thirty-three crores of Hindu gods. With them sages also shared this spot, which was a level plain, stretching away to the Aravallis.

There was, however, a great fissure of unfathomable depth in the ground of this plain. One day the cow of Sage Vasishtha fell into this abyss. In distress the great sage called on the sacred river, Saraswati, to help him. She responded to the call, and the cow was saved by a miraculous rise of the waters, which carried her up to the surface of the ground. The sage, fearing a repetition of the accident, besought the god, Siva, then in the Kailasa, for relief in a permanent form. Siva told him to beseech Himâchala, called all his sons together and enquired which one of them would volunteer to fill up the depth. The youngest son, Nandivardhana, came forward to undertake the mission. Being lame, he desired to be carried on the back of his friend, Arbuda, a dragon. Whereupon the sage, Vasishtha, besought the help of the dragon, Arbuda, and promised that the hill which was to fill up the abyss would be named after him, and not after Nandivardhana. Thus united, the dragon and Nandivardhana left the Himalayas, reached the fissure, and plunged themselves into the abyss. It was so deep that only Nandivardhana's nose was visible, while the dragon's writhings made the mountain quake. Once more he invoked his god's help; and from his shrine at Kasi, Visvesvara extended his foot through the earth till his toe appeared on the summit of the mountain. The hill came to a standstill and swayed no longer. Thus the great chasm was filled up, and a majestic mountain appeared in its stead, which was named, as stipulated, after the dragon and came to be called "Arbuda."

There are as many as fifty ancient and sacred places on Mount Abu. It is impossible to give even a cursory idea of them all within the space at our disposal. The most important of them, and, above all, those of great archæological interest, shall alone be noticed here. The hill is noted for the beauty and diversity of its landscape. One of the most beautiful objects of nature on Mount Abu is the Nakhitalao, which lies close to the station in the midst of the lofty hills. The lake is locally believed to have been excavated by the nails of the Rishis. Hence it derives its name—Nakhitalao, or "nail-lake." There are several rocky islands in

the lake which add greatly to the beauty of the scenery. The lake is held sacred by the Hindus who perform pilgrimages by walking around it, drinking from it, and washing and bathing in it.

The Jainas, and, among the Hindus, the Saivas, seem to be the only sects who cultivated a love of the picturesque. It is hardly, therefore, to be wondered at that Mount Abu was early fixed upon both by the Saivas and the Jainas as one of their sacred places. There is scarcely any secluded and well-wooded spot on this sacred hill which has not been appropriated by these sects for their worship. We shall take the Saivas first. On the western slope of Abu and not far from the road which leads to Anadra is a group of temples known as Karodidhaj. A lovelier site for these structures it is difficult to find on the hill. Just near the entrance porch is a roughly hewn standing figure of a Banjara, who is said to have amassed a fabulous wealth and styled Karodidhaj (the pinnacle of Crores) for that reason. It was he who built this cluster of temples, most of which are of marble. The principal temples are those of Patalesvara, Kotisvara and Kali, and are thus dedicated to Saiva worship. They belong to the tenth century A.D., but the spires of them all are modern work.

Not far from Karodidhaj, on the slopes of Mount Abu, are the shrines of Devangana which are now in a ruinous condition. The path from Karodidhaj to Devangana is of the most rugged kind. The temples are situated in a picturesque place, and a more picturesque scene on this hill cannot be found. In the midst of a thick bamboo jungle interspersed with tall magnificent trees, on the banks of a mountain torrent bed, over a pool of water furnished from a perennial spring, are the remains of the Devangana temples. Unfortunately, nothing now remains of the structures except the shrine. The latter is now empty, but, no doubt, it originally contained the image which is now lying outside.

But the most important of the Saiva temples on Mount Abu is that of Achalesvara. It is about five miles from the Civil Station and is situated at the foot of a hill fort called Achalgadh. According to our

legend, when Nandivardhana, son of the Himalayas, and his friend Arbuda plunged themselves into the abyss, they were in great writhings, and not till Visveswara extended his toe from Kasi from below the earth that the hill became "achala," or immovable. And it is this toe emblem of Siva which is called Achalesvara and is worshipped in this temple as Siva. Below the emblem is shown a hole into which no one is allowed to put his hand and which is considered to be unfathomable. The sanctum in which this toe of Mahadeva is worshipped is a very plain one, but the front porch has some architectural interest (Fig. 10). This will give one an idea of the style of the porch and also the shrine door which decorated the entrance to what may be taken as the typical temple of the Rajputana and Gujrat style of the 11th century A.D. The dwarf pillars resting on ledges provided with back rests constitute the special feature of the porch of this period. The carving, again, of the pillars is chaste and elegant and closely resembles that of the columns of Vimala Shah's temple on Mount Abu which we shall presently examine. In the close vicinity of the temple of Achalesvara is a "kunda" (tank) called Mandâkini-kunda or Agni-kunda. The waters of this "kunda" are supposed to possess the same efficacy as those of the Ganges; hence it is called Mandâkini-kunda. It is called Agni-kunda because it is supposed to be the fire-pit from which arose the original ancestors of the four principal Rajput families of the modern day.

We now come to the Dilwara group of temples. There are many small villages on Mount Abu. One of these is Dilwara, which is a mile and a quarter north of the Station of Abu. Dilwara is only a corruption of "Deul-wara," "deul" meaning temples and "wara" a locality or ward. "Dilwara" thus means a place or city consisting of temples. The grouping together of shrines into "Cities of Temples" is a peculiarity of the Jainas. Neither the Buddhists nor the Hindus possess such a group of temples as that at Satrunjaya (Palitana) or at Mount Abu. We have at the latter place not less than six temples, all belonging to the Jaina religion, of which

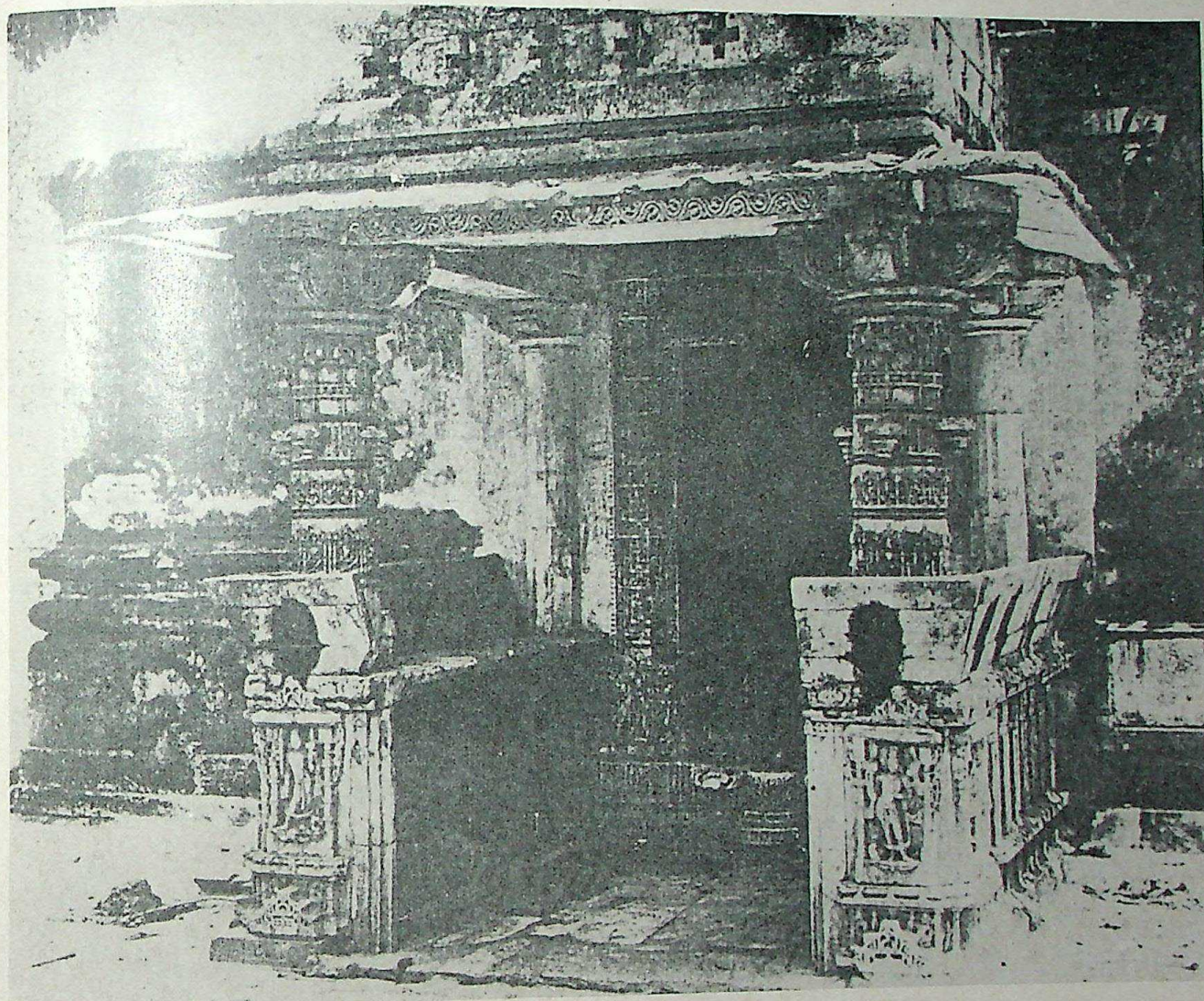


Fig. 10.

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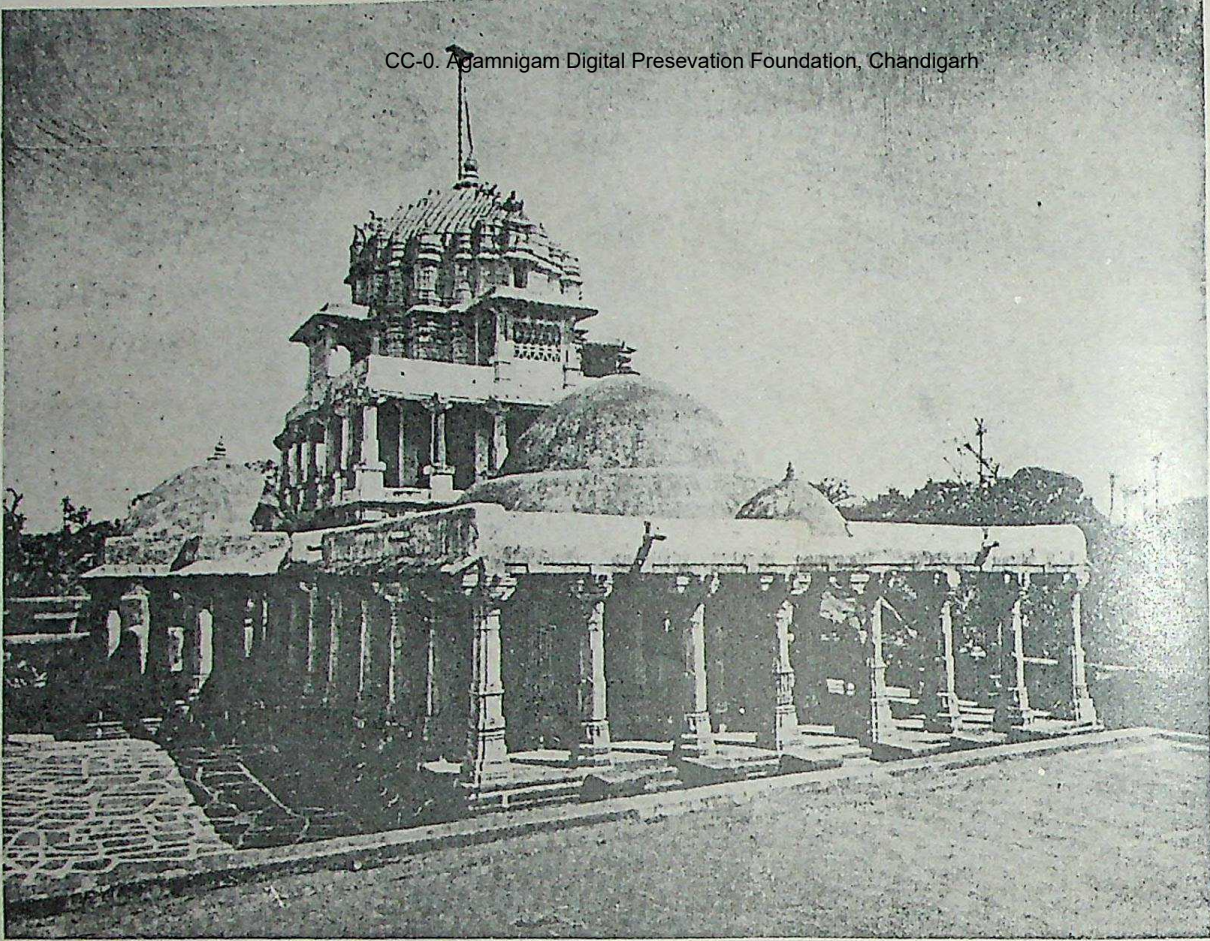
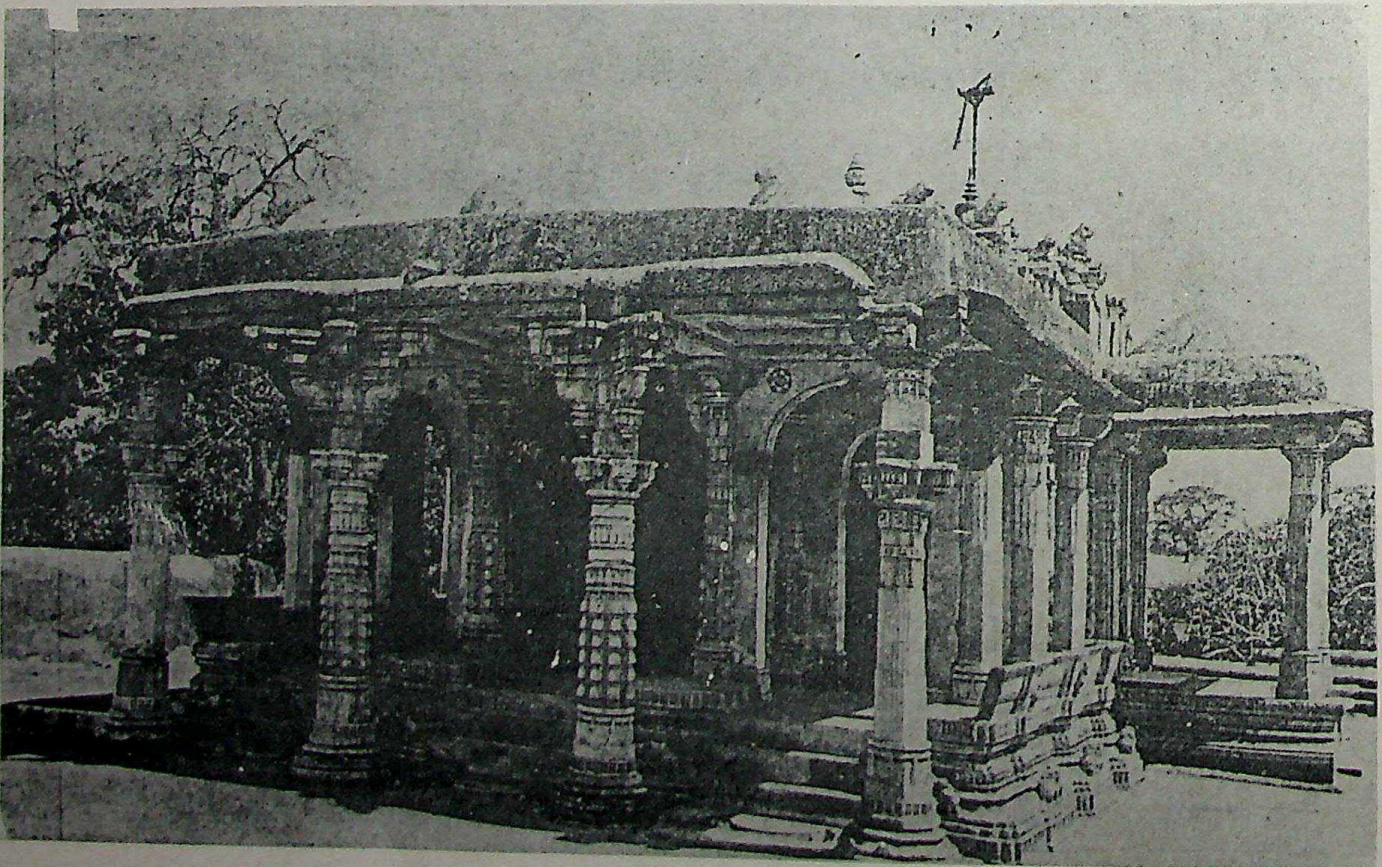


Fig. 9



five are of the Svetambara and one of the Digambara sect. The Digambari temple has no architectural pretensions and consequently does not deserve even a passing notice here. Of the five Svetambari temples, the most important are the temples of Vimala Shah and Tejpâla. The remaining three are the temple of Santinatha, the temple of Adinatha, and the Chaumukha temple. The first of these, viz., the temple of Santinatha, is an insignificant structure, exciting no interest. The temple of Adinatha, though bigger and more pretentious, creates no interest at all, especially in one who has seen those of Vimala Shah and Tejpâla. Such is not, however, the case with the Chaumukha temple (Fig. 8). In the first place, it creates some iconographic interest, because it contains four images of one and the same Tirthankara facing the four cardinal directions, the Tirthankara, in this case, being Parsvanatha. Secondly, the architectural effect of the temple is quite imposing, it being massive and symmetrical, the tessellated pavement of the porch also adding to the general effect. The type of the structure is somewhat peculiar, having four faces ("chaumukha") each opening out on a quadrangle. This is a characteristic development of the Guzrat style under the patronage of the Jaina builders. This peculiar arrangement has some claims to be called a specially "Jaina style," as it does not appear to occur in connection with any Brahmanical temples. The Chaumukha temple is said to have been built of stones that were left unused after building the principal temples by the artisans, and is hence also called the artisans' temple. The temples of Vimala Shah and Tejpâla will next claim our attention. It will be useful to preface our study with a few remarks on the builders of these magnificent monuments.

About the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Mount Abu and the surrounding country was ruled over by a chief called Dhanduka, who belonged to the Paramara family. Paramara, we know, corresponds to the present Rajput clan Painvar. His overlord was Bhimaraja, who was of the Chaulukya or Solanaki dynasty founded in Guzrat by Mularaja about 941 A.D. When Bhimaraja

(1022 to 1064 A.D.) was reigning at Anahilapura or Anahilawada (modern Patan in North Guzrat), some friction arose between Dhanduka and Bhima, and to escape his overlord's anger Dhanduka fled to Dhar and took refuge with its ruler, Bhoja. And to keep control over the Paramara territory, Bhima sent Vimala Shah to Abu as his Dandanayaka, or commander of forces. Vimala Shah was a Porwar Bania (banker) by caste and Jaina by religion. According to the popular legend, Vimala Shah was visited in his dream by his family goddess, Ambikâ, who commanded him to build near her shrine a temple of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthankara. But the place over which the shrine of Ambikâ stood had already been occupied by Brahmanical temples, and to obtain the building site from the Brahmans, Vimala Shah had to cover it with gold coins, as the price of the acquisition. The site was purchased, and the temple was constructed at an expense, we are told, of 18 crores and 53 lacs. According to Colonel Tod who was the first European to visit Mount Abu, Vimala Shah's temple is "the most superb of all the temples in India, and there is not an edifice besides the Taj Mahal that can approach it." His temple at Mount Abu is called after him, Vimala-Vasahi, and was completed in A.D. 1031. It appears from the inscriptions that the image of Rishabhânâth was installed immediately on the completion of the temple. A part of this temple was destroyed by the Mussalmans, but was restored by two bankers, Lalla and Bijar, in 1321 A.D. during the reign of Chaukan Maharao Tej Singh. To Vimala Shah is also attributed the splendid group of temples at Kumbhariya on the Arasur hill, near the celebrated Brahmanical shrine of Ambâ Bhavâni. Tejpâla was also a Porwar Bania by caste, and a Jaina by faith. He was, like his brother, Vastupâla, a minister of Virdâdhavala, who belonged to the Vaghela branch of the Solanaki family which reigned at Dhola in the Ahmedabad district of the Bombay Presidency. Vastupâla and Tejpâla were residents of Patan, and they had, as Jaina records go, spent about 372 crores 72 lacs 18 thousand and 8 hundred in works of religious charity and public utility. We also find their names associated with a

magnificent triple temple on Mount Girnar in Kathiawar. To Tejapâla is also attributed the restoration of many Saiva temples. On Mount Abu, however, Tejapâla built the temple in memory of his son Luniga and called it "Luniga Vasati." The temple itself was consecrated in 1230 A.D., i.e., two centuries after the date of Vimala Shah's temple. Sobhanadeva is the name of the master builder who was commissioned by Tejapâla to carry out his architectural ambitions. This temple was damaged by the Mahomedans, probably during the raids of Allauddin Khiliji, and was repaired, along with Vimala Shah's temple in 1321 A.D. by the bankers under the superintendence of Pethada, the master of the guild of architects of the time.

The erection of the temple of Neminâth is generally associated with the two brothers, Tejapâla and Vastupâla, although the inscriptions only ascribe the erection and endowment to Tejapâla. There is no doubt, however, that Vastupâla had a very active share in raising this monument. Indeed, according to the records of history, Vastupâla figures more in contemporary chronicles, as the most generous patron of all the arts and a prolific builder of public places and temples. His deeds are sung by more than one poet. He was himself a gifted poet and his fame travelled to all parts of India and extracts from his poems occur in many anthologies. He was a liberal patron of the poets, the most well-known being Arisinha, Harihara, Jinnaharsa and Somesvara, the last two of whom have immortalized their patron and his deeds in eulogistic poems (*Kîrtikaumudî* and *Vastupâl-charita*). To Vastupâla is also attributed the building of three great libraries. His first outburst of poetry took the form of a hymn in the praise of Adinath on the Satrunjaya Hills on his first visit to the famous Jaina temple where he erected a shrine. If we do not accept the extravagant statements of his bardic chroniclers, there cannot be any doubt that the number of temples he built or restored must have been numerous. According to one account, his benefactions to temples and shrines numbered forty-three. He favoured all creeds and sects and even restored Saiva temples and built mosques for

Mahomedans. Besides the temples at Mount Abu, he built the following important temples: (1) Temple of Adinath at Dholka; (2) The Indramandapa before the temple of Adinatha and two new temples, one of Neminath and one of Parsvanath, at Satrunjaya; (3) Three temples, one of Parsvanath, one of Neminath, and a remarkable triple temple dedicated to Mallinath at Girnar. The list of temples he restored is too long to recapitulate. Of works of public utility, the number of tanks for drinking water and rest-houses attributed to him are numerous.

We will now proceed to study the temples. Externally the features of the temples are perfectly plain and one is totally unprepared for the splendour, the delicacy and richness of the carvings and ornaments which decorate the interiors and which will meet the stupefied gaze of the surprised visitor. A passing familiarity with the general arrangement and plans of the temples is an instructive introduction to the beauties of the interior. From the plan here reproduced, it will be evident that the general arrangement in both the temples is practically the same, except in the placing of the portrait gallery which is within the enclosure in Tejapâl's temple, while in Vimala Shah's temple it is outside the principal enclosure (*prākâra*). The only other noticeable difference is that the one faces the north and the other the south. Both the temples reproduce the style and arrangement of the older temple of Neminath at Girnar (Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. II, Woodcut No. 280). Though varying in minor details the arrangement and the general design of construction are practically identical, and they may be taken to represent completely developed and typical examples of Jaina temples from the 11th century onwards. Each of the temples stands in its walled court, in the centre of which is the main cell (*garva-griha*) with the image of the Tirthankara to whom the temple is dedicated. In the case of Vimala Shah's temple, the shrine contains a large brazen image of Rishabhanath or Adinath, the first Tirthankara, with jewelled eyes and wearing a necklace of brilliants. To the shrine is attached a "gudha mandapa" or

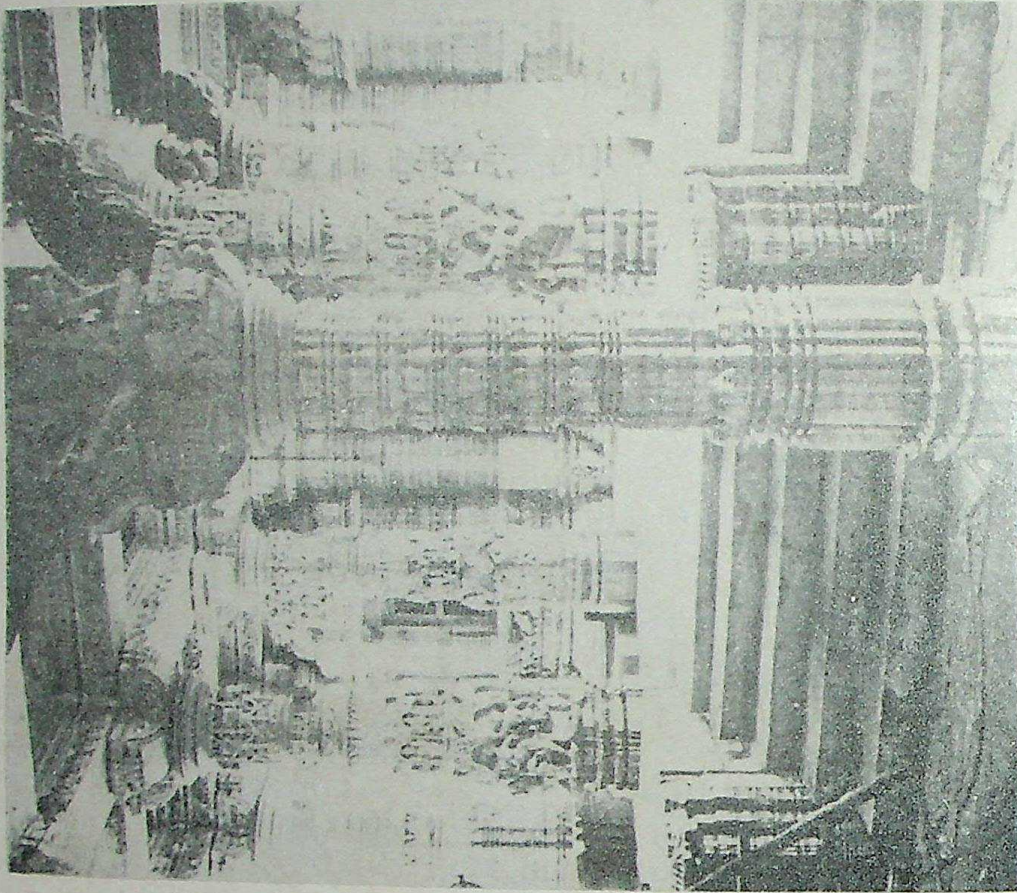


Fig. 6.

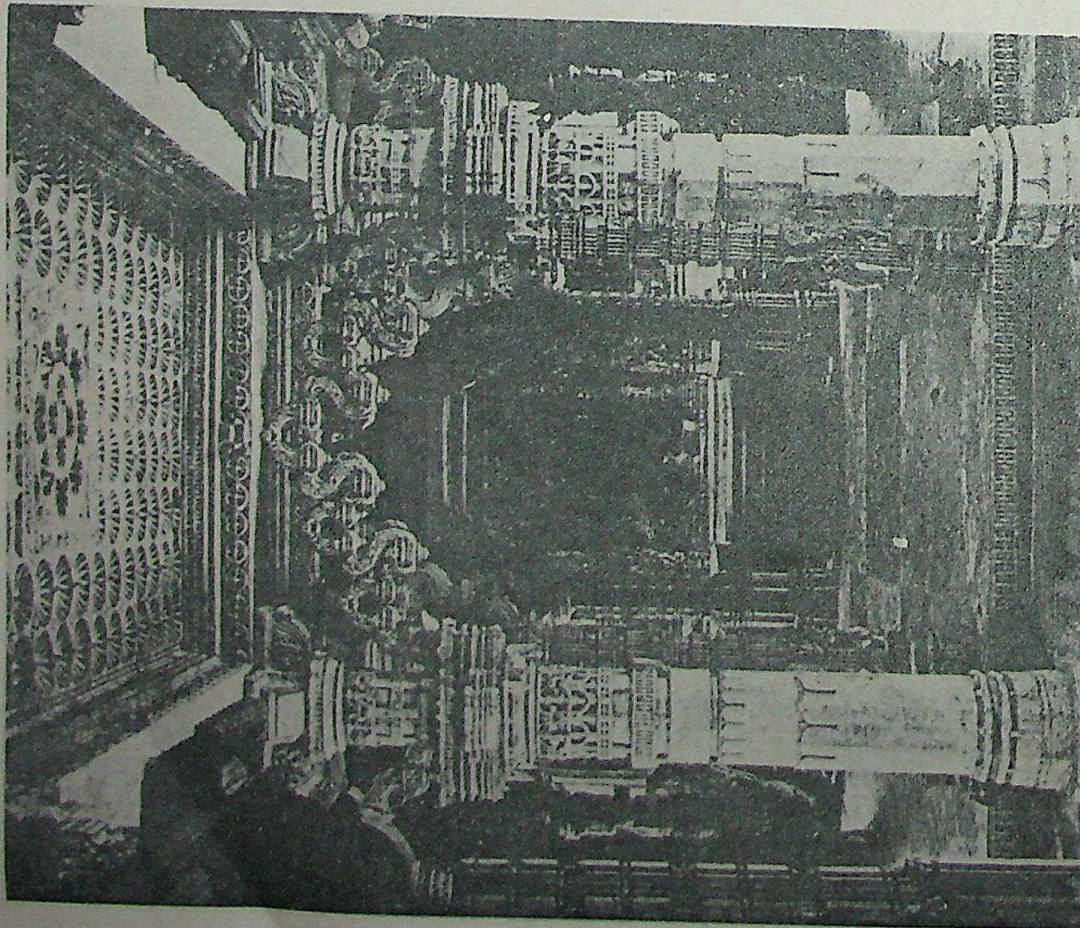


Fig. 7.

closed hall with two side porches. In the front is a platform which, with the shrine and the closed hall, is raised three steps above the surrounding court (Fig. 6). In front of the platform is a "sabhâmandapa," or assembly-hall, supported by 48 free-standing pillars. The eight central of these pillars, again, are so arranged as to form an octagon supporting a dome. The octagonal dome is the most important and imposing feature of the temple. The central and the assembly-hall are enclosed in an oblong courtyard surrounded by a double colonnade of smaller pillars forming porticos or rather corridors to a range of cells, 52 in number. The cells with the colonnaded passage running in front of them are situated on a platform slightly higher than the assembly-hall. In each of the 52 cells are installed seated images of Jinas. On many of the doors of these cells are donative inscriptions, some of which are dated a century later than the erection of the main temple. The repetition of the main cell with its Tirthankara in the surrounding minor cells may be an architectural symbol of the Jaina theory of multiplicity of souls. Whatever may be the origin or motive of this arrangement, it has offered to the craftsman a very admirable opportunity for devising a very imposing passage of circumambulation and for elaborate decoration of a series of domes which are placed on the pillars facing each cell round the corridor—the two longest of which run to about 128 feet. Each dome is ornamented with decorations which are different from the other and some of them are little masterpieces of their kind. The surface of the ceilings are sculptured with incidents from Jaina mythologies, principally from stories of the *Satrunjaya Mâhâtmya* as indicated by the names engraved beneath them. Some of the panels are devoted to representations of Siva, Vishnu, Narasimha and other Hindu deities. Whether we consider the general effect of the pillared corridors or the detailed embroideries on its panels and ceilings, the feeling is one of uniform wonder at the magnificent forms which the Jains have chosen to record their prayers in stone, finding expression for them in a language of superb richness and delicacy which the

resources of Indian Art of the time could devise. It is impossible to convey in words an accurate impression of the mysterious beauty of this long "pradakshina" in the mystic play of light accentuated here and there by the gleam of the white marble. The accompanying plates will help us to realise to a certain extent the beauty of these temples. The amount of ornamental detail spread over these shrines in the minutely carved decoration of ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels and niches, is nothing short of marvellous. The crisp, thin and translucent shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere and some of the designs are just dreams of beauty.

But it is the octagonal assembly-hall terminating in a magnificently curved dome which forms the most striking and beautiful feature of the two temples, as well as the distinguishing characteristic of the style. As you face the principal shrine from the entrance, the Sabhâmandapa is before you with its intricate forest of pillars elaborately curved and ending in bracket capitals. Over these a series of upper dwarf columns are placed to give additional height to the pillars, and on these upper columns rest the great beams or architraves. Each capital has four bracket struts from which spring ornamental arches, or toranas, touching the centres of the beams above, the remaining two brackets supporting dancing figures. The octagonal architraves develop into a circular cornice, richly carved, which support the dome, which can be well studied from the detailed photographs illustrated in photogravure (p. 11). The domes are undoubtedly the pride of the Dilwara temples. The curve of the domes is broken and relieved by a graduated series of ribs decorated with various derivatives of lotus-shapes—while the centre of the dome develops into a lotus pendant of exquisite design and workmanship. An important feature of the dome is a series of sixteen large female figures standing on brackets and arranged in a circle, each figure representing a "Vidya-devi" or "Sâsan-devi" of the Tirthankara. They seem to correspond to the Saktis of tantric deities. Each devi is known by the symbols she carries, while on a few of them their names are engraved. The introduction

of the female figures, no doubt dictated by the Jaina donator of the temples, has been made very skilfully. For although the figures themselves are not very artistic specimens of sculpture, they are cleverly woven into the composition and fit in very easily into the decorative schemes, providing a useful foil to the other ornaments, helping to break the monotony of the continuous decorative figures.

It is, however, the singular ornament pendant which forms the most striking and beautiful feature of the entire composition and will appropriate the attention of all visitors. Its many intricate ornamentations may be studied in the details afforded in plate opposite (Fig. 1). This special form of ornament has been a peculiar feature of this class of temples erected by the Jainas during the eleventh century—though the peculiar arrangement of the domed assembly-hall with its pillared porch is anticipated in the Sun-temple at Mudhera erected six years before Vimala Shah's temple at Mount Abu. It has been suggested that this style of architecture and particularly the many details of the ornaments and decorative lintels and toranas (the angular struts springing from the lower capitals) have been derived from wooden originals. It cannot be doubted that some of the details—particularly the decorative arches, the "toranas"—are directly borrowed from wooden specimens. In Guzrat there existed a very fine and well-developed style of wooden architecture. But it is now impossible to trace the derivation of the style of the Dilwara temples from any existing specimens of wooden architecture. We have, no doubt, an example of a somewhat similar ceiling carried out in wood in the temple of Vadi Parsvanath at Anahilawada, but the latter temple was not built before 1594 A. D. and hence cannot be taken to be the prototype in wood from which the temples at Abu could be taken to have been translated into stone. It is possible that the craftsmen who built these temples had developed their skill by previous exercises in wood which gave them courage to attempt such a difficult medium. But the history of Indian craftsmanship precludes any supposition of stone-architecture of this class being derived

directly from wooden predecessors. The training and tradition of Indian builders have been to work in more than one material simultaneously, and there is no question of one medium preceding the other. Whatever may be the origin of this peculiar style, there is evidence that it continued for a long time and spread over a wide area, at least as far down as Ambarnath near Kalyan (Bombay) where we have a similar temple erected in 1060 A. D.

To return to our study of the ceiling of the assembly-halls. It is usual to compare the effect of the domical ceilings with those of Gothic cathedrals. Indeed, all writers who have recorded their impressions have not omitted to refer to the supposed analogy with Gothic architecture. Fergusson's remarks are worth quoting: "In the centre of the dome is a pendant of most exquisite beauty; the whole is in white marble and finished with a delicacy of detail and appropriateness of ornament which is probably unsurpassed by any similar example to be found anywhere else. Those introduced by the Gothic architects in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster, or at Oxford, are coarse and clumsy in comparison. It is difficult by any means of illustration to convey a correct idea of the extreme beauty and delicacy of these pendant ornaments" (*History of Indian Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 41). Colonel Tod has expressed himself in somewhat similar language: "Although it has some analogy to the corbeille of a Gothic cathedral, there is nothing in the most florid style of Gothic architecture that can be compared with this in richness. Its form is cylindrical, about three feet in length, and where it drops from the ceiling it appears like a cluster of the half disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent and so accurately wrought, that it fixes the eye in admiration" (*Travels in Western India*, p. 106-09). While every one will endorse the eulogy lavished on the skill of the decorations of these hanging clusters, the analogy with features of Gothic architecture is not very close. The spirit behind these architectural forms at Mount Abu is undoubtedly akin to that which inspires the Gothic cathedrals, but it is futile to look for any fundamental



Fig 1

Fig. 4.



Fig 5.



similarities with the forms and structures of Gothic architecture except in minor and inessential features. The outstanding similarity in the two styles is afforded by the peculiar inequality between the interior and exterior of the temple which is also a very characteristic peculiarity of Gothic cathedrals. It has been said that the Gothic style imposes a sacrifice of the exterior to the interior of the building. This remark applies with greater force to the Jaina temples at Mount Abu. For while the flying buttresses and the intricate profusion of struts and stays and pinnacles of mediæval cathedrals in Europe offer mysterious effects in sky lines, the exteriors of the temples of Mount Abu have not the least pretensions to any architectural effect. The low domes and lower sikharas of these Jaina temples have the most uninviting and bald effect, which is due to the architects concentrating their designs wholly upon the interior of the temples. Indeed, it is difficult to cite examples of such complete sacrifice of the exterior features of a temple to the necessities of its interior designs. There is no question that the sacrifice has been justified. It is difficult to cite any example of such richly decorated interiors which could rival the Dilwara temples. The imposing effect produced by these surface ornaments must, however, be distinguished from the kind of beauty which is produced by clever spacing and by juxtaposition of masses in proportions that give pleasure to the sight. The architecture of these Jaina temples is not certainly of that order. And, if we can free ourselves for a time from the enchantment of its elaborate trappings and superficial embroideries to peer behind its magic veil—to get a glimpse of the naked integrity of its forms,—we shall be in a better position to judge of the exact logic of its expression. As soon as we disengage ourselves from the blandishments of its fairy decorations, we begin to realise that ornament, as such, cannot be accepted as the principal part or the essence of architecture. It has to be judged by the logic of its construction and by the integrity of its forms, stripped of all its surface decorations and plastic figures of speech. Nothing should be introduced in architecture for mere

ornament, and the effect depends quite as much on the satisfaction the eye receives from the way in which the structure explains itself visibly as from the agreeable proportion and picturesqueness of the design. Judged by the reasons of construction and the laws of proportion, there are many features of the Abu temples which can hardly escape criticism. The most obvious one is the lack of any constructional function in the decorative "toranas" (arches) between the central pillars of the Sabhâmandapa. In the medium of wood the "toranas" might be taken to help to keep the pillars in position, but there is no justification for them in the marble pillars. To Mr. Henry Cousens, the late Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, is due the credit of recording a sound criticism of the architecture of these temples. In his Report for the year 1901, Mr. Cousens has remarked: "Though the detail work of these temples is exquisite, and the designs are not only novel in their treatment but extremely pleasing to the eye, yet the setting of the work is at fault. The general outlines of the buildings are not in the best proportions. Such large domes as these two principal ones of Vimala Shah's and Tejapâla's temples are set too squat; they require greater height. The fault lies in the pillars, they should have been much taller." This criticism is justified as regards the mandapa of Vimala Shah's temple rather than that of Tejapal's, the pillars of which are loftier in height. Mr. Cousens' criticism of the position of ceilings of the corridors is, however, difficult to meet. "The corridor ceilings are specially too low, and the unnecessarily heavy massive beams do not improve them (vide Fig. 4). These beautifully executed ceiling panels, many fitted with delicate gossamer traceries, are stowed away in the deep-set bays between a multitudinous arrangement of heavy deep beams. Owing to the depth of the latter, one small panel only can be satisfactorily viewed at a time (Fig. 7), and that only by standing immediately underneath it and straining one's neck to see it, as it hangs but three or four feet above the head. The adjoining bays are almost entirely cut off from view by the heavy deep beams. Had half the thickness of these beams

been buried in the roof above, the panels and beams would have merged into one general ceiling, which would not look, as it does, made up of samples dropped into deep boxed compartments." The short height of the ceilings can be explained, but cannot be justified. The corridor of Vimala Shah's temple was built much later than the main shrine and its height was determined long ago by the height of the central shrine and the assembly-hall. But the limitation could have been compensated, as Mr. Cousens suggests, by reducing the thickness of the beams so as to expose the ceilings to a general view now obstructed by the deep bays.

To the visitors to the pilgrimages of art—the Sabhāmandapa and the corridors of the temples appropriate more attention than the shrine itself where the main images are located, one of which is illustrated in Fig. 2. The corridors and the Sabhāmandapa are treated with utter indifference by the majority of the people who frequent these temples. "Scores of pilgrims go in and out of these shrines, having come from the uttermost ends of the land to this holy "tirtha," who seldom look about them at all and pass by all this beautiful work without heeding it. They go straight to the shrine, perform the necessary rites and walk out again. The fact that the temple is constructed of white marble might dawn upon some of them, but the beauty of the endless variety of forms into which its ornamental detail is so cunningly wrought appeals to them in vain." To one more sensitive to æsthetic appeal the delicate lotus petal string course, of the basement mouldings of the shrine (Fig. 3), will offer more attraction than the shrine itself. The only other noticeable feature of the temples is the portrait gallery of the donators. In the temple of Vimala Shah, this gallery is situated opposite the entrance to the main shrine, and contains ten statues of elephants, on each of them was seated a figure on a rich "hauda" behind the driver. These represented Vimala Shah and his family in procession to the temple, but the figures have been destroyed during Mahomedan invasion. The portrait gallery attached to Tejpal's temple is illustrated in

Fig. 5. The elephants with their rich trappings are sculptured with exquisite precision. Behind the elephants are ten slabs, each with a male and one or more female figures on it. These are representations of the donators who were riding on the elephants together with their wives. Two of the slabs represent the two brothers and their wives—of Vastupāla with Lalita Devi and Wiruta Devi and of Tejapāla and Anupamā. In building this temple the brothers have not only exchanged their perishable wealth for an immortal name, but immortalized the name of more than one member of their family. The names of their relatives are engraved in the small niches (jinālaya) of which there are fifty-two here, and each niche was built for a distinct personage.

On the comparative excellence of the two temples, critics have expressed different opinions. Fergusson has found it difficult to decide which should bear the palm. Very few people will, however, differ from Tod's estimation. Referring to the temple of Tejapāla he remarks: "The design and execution of this shrine and all its accessories are on the model of the preceding, which, however, as a whole, it surpasses. It has more simple majesty, the fluted columns sustaining the munduff (hall) are loftier, and the vaulted interior is fully equal to the other in richness of sculpture and superior to it in execution, which is more free and in finer taste."

We have begun by suggesting that the architecture of the Dilwara temples is not the expression of any special necessities of Jaina religion. Generally speaking, the Jains adopted existing styles rather than originated any new styles. And it is somewhat difficult to glean from the group of temples on Mount Abu any contributions which we may consider as due to Jaina inspiration. To one endowed with a special degree of æsthetic imagination, the use of the material—the sparkling white marble which contributes to such a magnificent effect—may be taken to symbolize the Jaina theory of the purity of soul. The function of Jaina ritual is to purify the soul of the "dirt of human actions" until the soul shines resplendent, all pure and powerful.

Fig. 3.

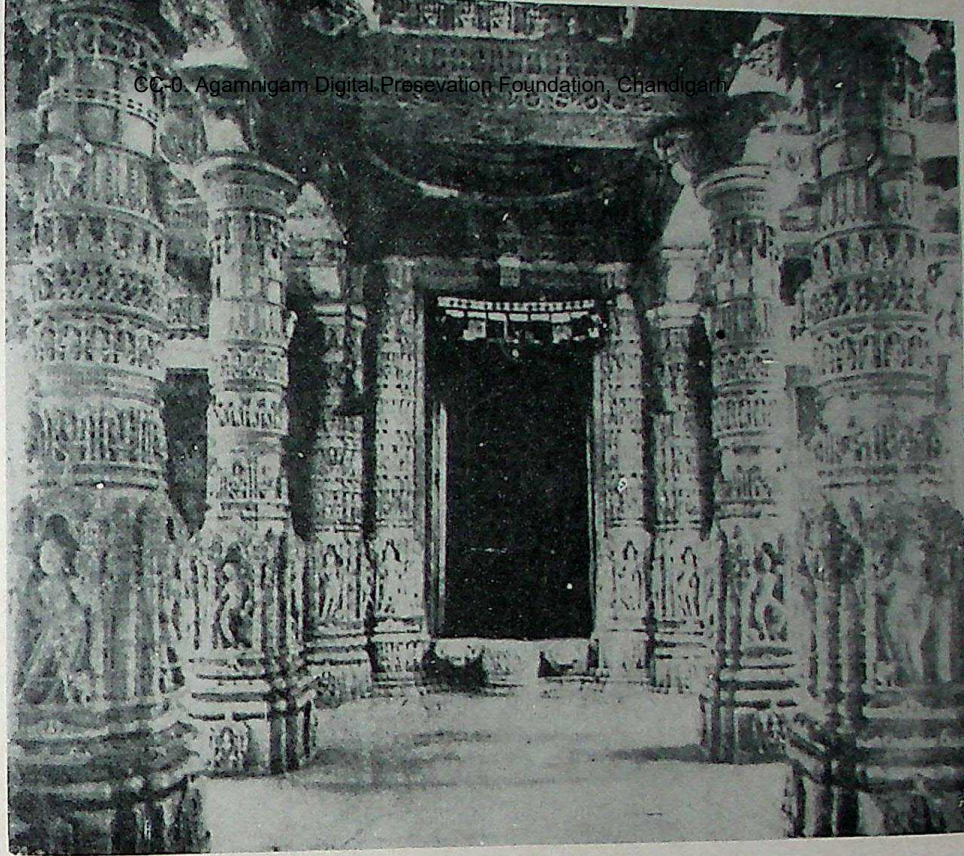
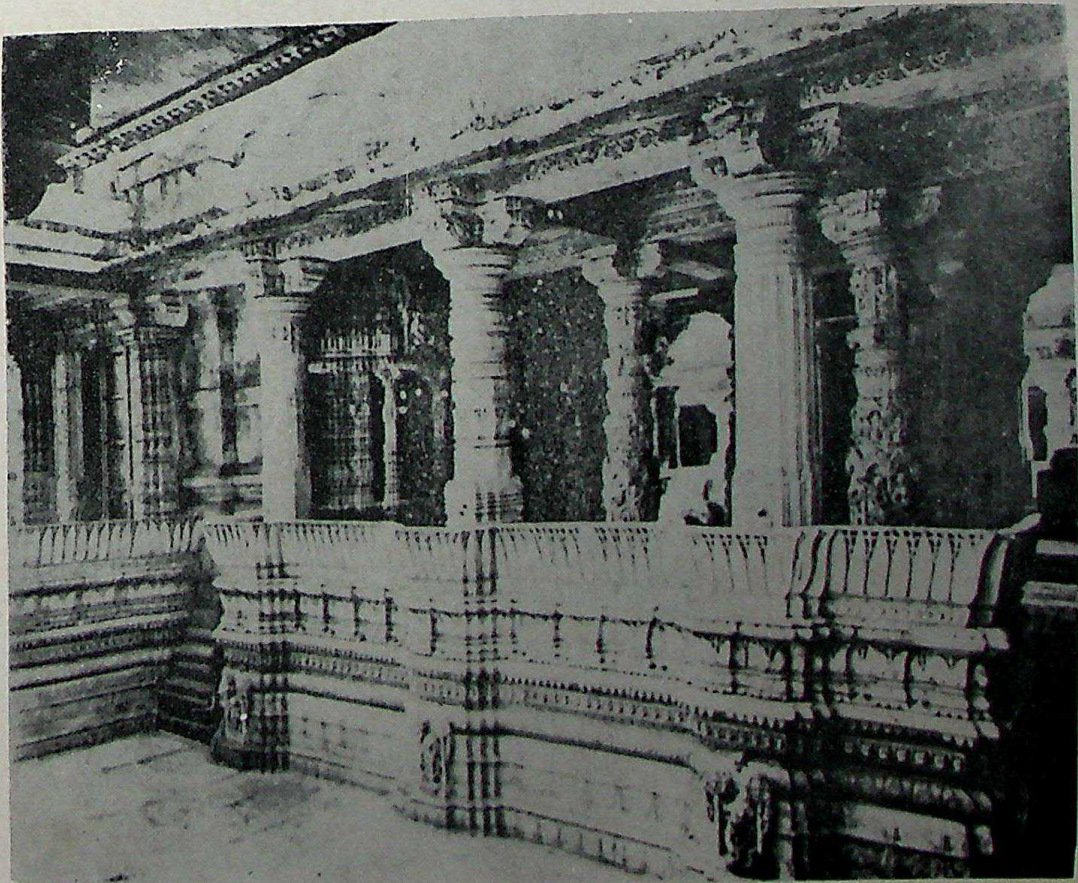


Fig. 2.



And in the gleam of its white marble we may fancy an embodiment of this doctrine. Again, the purity of contemplation in Jaina theology is suggested by the word "sukla" (white) and may have suggested the use of the white marble for the temples. If Jainism had suggested the material for this monument, it does not appear to have suggested the form for the structure. And the enthusiasm of the religious faith of its builders found pleasure in expressing itself in the supreme and unstinted magnificence of its decorations. And it is difficult to think of any sect making such superbly magnificent places of worship for locating its deities. The Jain builders can well claim, with the French mediæval builders, to call themselves "logeurs du bon Dieu." If

they did not devise any special language, any new style of architectural expression, they have certainly improved the existing form to the utmost capacity of its expression by moulding the current speech to meet the demands of a religious faith, which at this particular place was pledged to exuberant embellishments never to be surpassed even by its own adherents. Indeed, Jain builders have never been able to over-reach the extravagant magnificence of the Abu temples. But if the faith that found utterance in such exquisite prayers in stone has flagged or become less dynamic, the legacy that it has left to posterity is indeed rich and of extraordinary value and magnificence.

IV.—INDIAN ART IN SIAM.

By E. A. VORETZSCH.*

THE influence of Indian Art in the other Asiatic centres of culture has been the subject of special study during the last few years. There is nothing to wonder at it when we consider how it was not very long ago that in the long history of great Indian Art the short span that people call the Gandhara period was looked upon as the high-water mark of Indian Art, because it came nearest to the European classical ideal of beauty. When the Occident first began to emancipate itself from the dominating and all-engrossing belief hitherto held in an external ideal of beauty when the beauty behind appearances was discovered, then the immensity and magnitude of Indian Art revealed itself to its gaze, and the ramifications and influence of this art in other countries came to be studied. Much, indeed, has already been done in this direction, although we think that as yet there has not been sufficient enquiry into that great influence which Indian Art has exercised upon Chinese and Japanese figurative sculpture. As compared with the strong pulsation of the Indian spirit of the purest transcendentalism which we discover in Chinese grave-monuments and in the early Buddhist bronzes, the discovery of

the influence of Indian Art in Turkestan, which we owe to the expedition of Messrs. Grunwedel, Von Le Coq, Stein and Pelliot, dwindles into insignificance. The quest of the influence of Indian Art in so distant a country as China has at last overtaken the countries lying nearer the Indian continent, viz., Siam, the present French and Indo-China, and the Sunda Islands.

With regard to what relates to Siam, a national art has so well developed in this country—an art which at the present day has separated itself distinctly from all the other arts of the neighbouring countries: its origin, its roots lie in Indian Art. As in all other countries, in Siam, art has followed religion. Buddhism, however, must have been flowing into Siam from India from the time of Asoka (273–232 B.C.) onwards and far on into the first millennium after Christ. If we take the time of Asoka as the first period when the wave of Buddhism flowed into Siam, then the Gandhara period is to be recognised as sending forth the second, the Gupta empire (about 350–650 A.D.) the third, and the influx from Ceylon in the thirteenth century has to be regarded as its fourth great wave. The paths that the

* Translated for the author from the original article in German by Prof. Haran Chunder Chakladar of the Calcutta University.

stream followed are likewise fourfold: it came by land through Assam and Burma into northern Siam, and by sea through Bengal and Orissa from the Madras coast, and ultimately from Ceylon through the Malay peninsula and the valley of the Menam. It is interesting to enquire which period of Indian Art has exercised the most enduring influence on the art of Siam, and what was the broadest road by which Indian Art reached Siam. This is without doubt the period of Gupta Art, and the main path followed was probably the northern one by land.

One finds, indeed, in Siamese Art a beautiful concord with Asokan age and interesting connections with the Greco-Buddhist Art, but in neither the one nor the other can we discover a source with the same title as Gupta Art for the most flourishing period of the national Siamese Art, viz., the art of the empire of Sukothai-Savankolok (750-1100).

We have only to picture to ourselves the splendid creations of the Gupta period, like the standing Buddha in white sandstone excavated at Sarnath, the standing Buddha of the Mathura Museum, or the large and stately standing bronze Buddha excavated at Sultangung, now in the collection of the Museum at Birmingham, by a sad misfortune at the place of its origin, and to compare with them the best productions of the Sukothai-Savankolok period, to discover the close affinity between the arts of the two empires. While the art of the Guptas has become known through numerous illustrations, that of the flourishing period of Siamese Art has, so far as it is known to us, been treated only in a step-motherly fashion, and on that account it would be of interest to consider here a few more illustrations of that flourishing period of Siamese Art.

In Fig. 1 we illustrate a fragment of a head which is represented there in almost its natural size. The custom of employing small figures for the decoration of places of art has been derived from India. Already in the Gandhara period was this custom generally prevalent in the regions where that art dominated. As is well known, it spread itself through Chinese Turkestan to farther

East. With regard to its extension into Siam we are not sufficiently well informed. At any rate, to judge from the variety of its disguises, it could not have been very little. The head lying before us might be a long figure and may not be dated later than the close of the eighth century. One of the finest bronze Buddha-heads of the Sukothai period is represented in illustration 2. It comes from old-Sukothai and is cast in the *cire perdue* process; the background is of suitable strength, 4-8 mm. thick. It shows faint traces of chiselling. The nose is slightly bent, the eyes are cast downwards, the ears are pointed above; on the stereotyped long earlaps is indicated a cut for a ear-pendant. The knots of hair are well-modelled and of befitting size. The composition of the bronze of this head has been ascertained as follows by analysis by Professor Sebelien, the head of the Chemical Laboratory of the Norwegian Agricultural High School at Aas in Norway:—Copper, 82.54 per cent.; tin, 11.92 per cent.; lead, 2.81 per cent.; iron, 0.30 per cent.; zinc, 0.95 per cent.; nickel, 0.12 per cent., besides clear traces of antimony, but on the other hand no gold, silver or cobalt. The mixture of copper and tin is the normal composition of the bronze of classical statues. The little lead and zinc contained are without doubt to be looked upon as impurities of the imperfectly purified metals, just as the traces of iron, nickel and antimony do not, of course, represent any intentional alloying.

A head akin to the above is given in illustration 3. Unfortunately it was much damaged by fire. It shows a peculiar oblong form of the head. Moreover, the retreating forehead, the long nose hanging down upon the upper lip, and the heavy dangling swinging ears impart to it an individuality which is met with in old Egyptian sculptures. This is also cast in a *cire perdue* process of founding cast very thick (4 to 7 mm.); it comes from Savankolok. The analysis of the bronze of this head we owe also to the courtesy of Professor Sebelien; its composition is as follows:—Copper, 75.80 per cent.; tin, 16.36 per cent.; silver, 0.31 per cent.; lead, 5.26 per cent.

We must place the figure of the sedent Buddha which is given in illustration 4 at

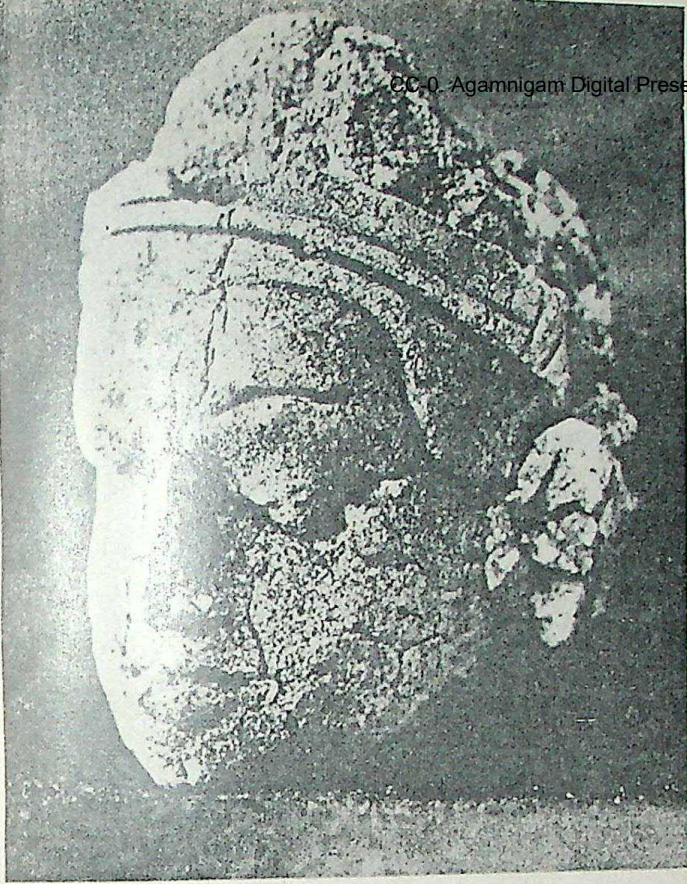
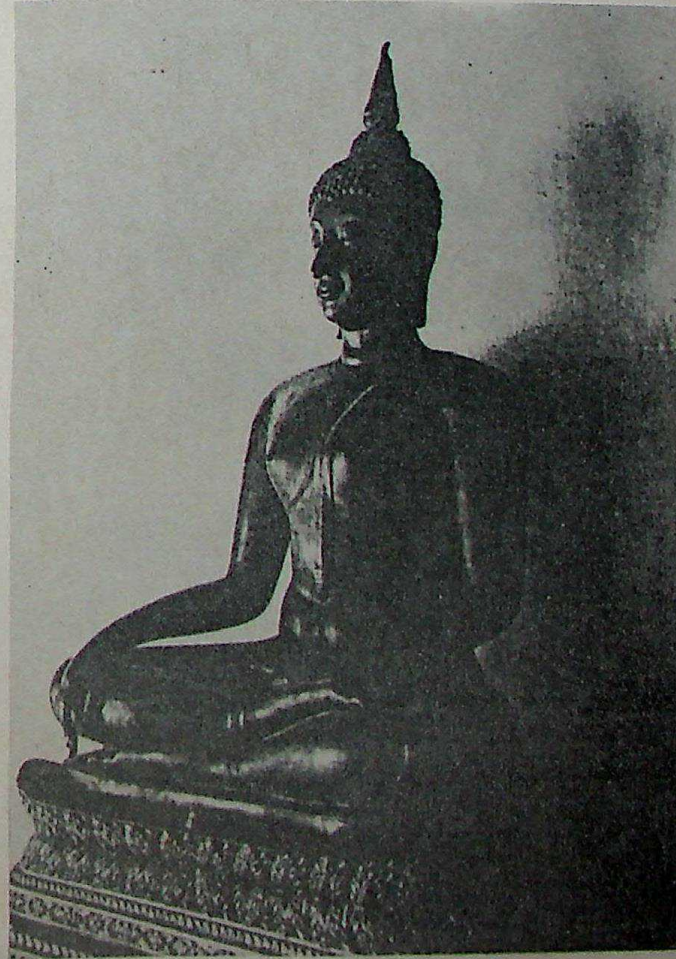
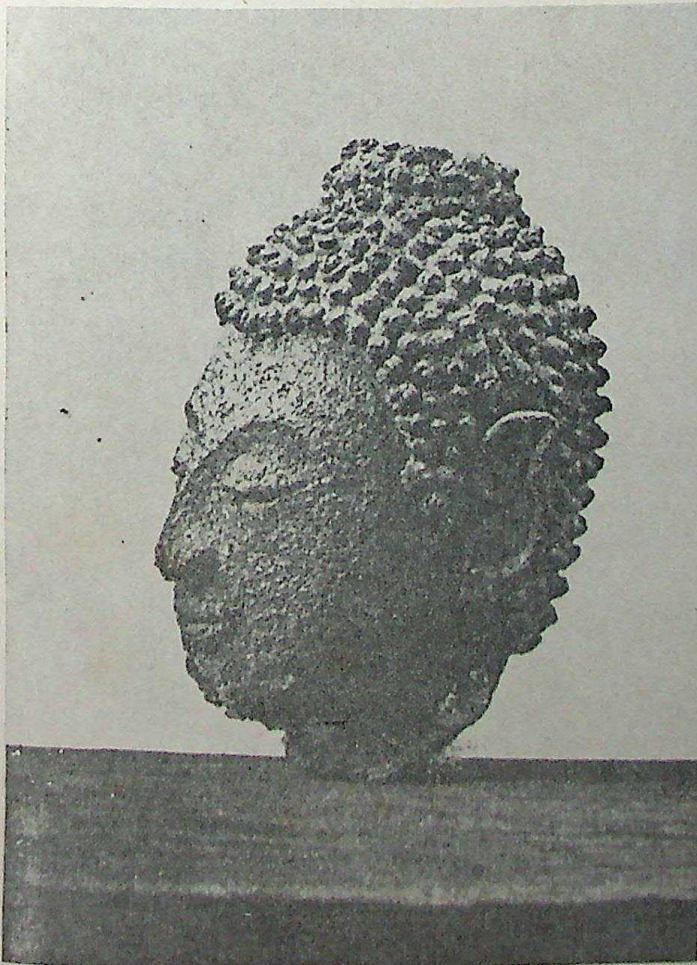


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



the end of the Sukothai-Savankolok period. The statue was found in Wat-Pent-chamopopitr in Bangkok. It is one of those bronzes which in the representation of the body come very near to the Indian conception. Here the trunk and the limbs are treated in a completely idealistic and secondary manner; the transcendental, the spirit which informs the body, is the essential. It is not Sakyamuni who is a man and resembles man, but it is the incomprehensible and the supernatural that surrounds him and streams forth from him which is the particular motive of the presentation. Therefore, the artist renounces the physical details in the representation of the body. The body is only the veil, the limbs only the "antennæ" through which the soul feels and perceives another world. In our illustration this immateriality of the body has been expressed very well in the *profile* of the right arm. It may be asked how the Indian artist could have come to make a divergence from the natural form. And the following reasons may at least appear probable. In the East and Ceylon, India, Siam, and China the naked body is a

somewhat familiar sight. Its plastic representation, therefore, hardly attracts the artist. He uses the human body for the representation of the Master and his disciples, that is to say, a personage superior to a human being; therefore he must be regarded as of extraordinary type, having a super-human body and not true to nature as seen and known by physical sight, but a godly frame,—something higher than man, that does not belong to the earth and has nothing of the grossness of the earth. On that account he idealises the body and models him in a smooth form without the coarseness or the "brutality" of muscles; such a body is only a cover for the fine soul of the Buddha of whom the Bodhisattva type was the human form—in its transition into the metaphysical.

In later times was developed, as is well known, in India, a strict canon (sâstras) for the representation of the deity, and, probably following on the Sinhalese Sastras, in Siam also, by degrees a severe and strict imitation of the conception has been developed. A discussion of the matter by means of illustrations may, perhaps, be reserved for a later issue.

V.—A MINIATURE FROM KANGRA.

By M. N. SETT.

ONE of the most absorbing topics of Rajput Painting, particularly of the Kangra school, is the rendering of the Krishna Lila, or the sports and dalliance of Krishna with Radha and the milkmaids of Brindavan. It is generally believed that these subjects are inspired by the Bhâgavata-purâna, made popular in Northern India by its vernacular version in the Prema sâgara (Ocean of Love). Curiously enough, most of the subjects met with in the paintings of the Kangra school have no place in the Bhâgavata-purâna or the Prema sâgara. No doubt there is a great body of Hindu literature, having its root in the Bhakti cult, which made Vaishnavism in its erotic phases very popular in Northern India, penetrating rural life and thought and inspiring all forms of folk-art. But even this literature, always characterized by a highly romantic and

idyllic flavour, fails, in many cases, to furnish the literary parallels to many episodes of Krishna Lila which the artists of Kangra have loved to depict in their little miniatures. One of such subjects is the very well-known and popular theme known as "Tâmbulasevâ," (the offering of the betel leaf), an example of which is reproduced in colour on the opposite page from a Kangra picture in Mr. Manuk's collection, on which we were permitted to draw in our last number. The size of the original picture here reproduced is 8 inches by 6 inches.

A somewhat different version of the identical theme treated in a rather archaic fashion is illustrated in Dr. Coomaraswamy's Rajput Painting, Vol. II, Plate XXXII. In the latter example Krishna is almost an icon and the offering is in the nature of a religious service by the worshipper. In our picture here reproduced, it is the representation of

a lover and her beloved. In Vaishnava theology the highest conception of the Divine is human. And the relationship of the human with the Divine has been understood and interpreted in terms of human passions and human actions. This has led to the idea that "it is the same for a god as for a man," and to various anthropomorphic forms of worship in which the deity is understood to be pleased with the same things that please man. This doctrine of the "âtma-vat-sevâ"—that is to say, service according to human standard and according to human needs and cravings—is well imbedded in all Vaishnava forms of worship. This imaging of the Divine in human forms is an antithesis of the other doctrine which enjoins "Devo bhutvâ devam yajet," "You cannot worship god without first becoming god." But this latter doctrine has nothing to do with the phase of mediæval Vaishnavism which accepted the everyday world and the inner experience of every man as the fullest possible revelation of Divinity. And it is this attempt to realise god in man which is the inspiration of all Vaishnava poets and a large section of Rajput painters. Indeed, the parallelism of poetry with pictorial art is so near that it is possible, in almost every case, to find a poetical text exactly illustrating a particular picture. In fact, both the poets and the artists appear to have been engaged in interpreting identical ideas. Hence we often find in many Kangra pictures a direct echo of many Bengalee lyrics of Vidyâpati and Chandidâs whose works could not possibly have been current in the Punjab. Thus, for instance, it is much easier to pick out, at random, from the minor Vaishnava poets of Bengal, passages which will fit in exactly with the idea illustrated in our picture of "Tâmbula-sevâ." We will give here only two quotations from the Prayers of Narattom Das Thakur :—

"Shyâm-gori ange diva chandaner
gandha|
Châmar dhulâva kave herava mukha-
chandra ||
Gânthiyâ mâlatir-mâlâ diva dohâr gale|
Adhare tuliyâ diva karpura tâmbule||"
"To the body of Shyâma and his fair consort

will I offer the scent of the sandal-paste. Oh! when shall I see their moon-face and fan them with fly-whisk, weave a garland of mâlati to place it round their necks, and reach to their lips the betel leaf scented with camphor?" Again :—

"Kanka sampata kari karpura tâmbula
bhari yogâiva donhâr badane."
(Sâdhaka kanthahâr, pp. 108 and 120).
"Will fill my cup of gold with betel leaves scented with camphor with which to serve their lips." The offering of the betel leaf is in some sects an important part of the daily ritualistic service to Krishna (Bhandarkar: Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems, 1913, p. 81. Compare also verse 21, sarga 11, of "Srikrishna Vâbâmrîtam" by Visva Nath Chakarvarty, Vrindâvan edition, p. 287). But of course in our picture the idea of a religious service is entirely absent. It is a picture of a lover offering a gift of love to her sweetheart. And if we can ignore for the moment the traditional blue skin of Krishna—the symbol of his superhuman character,—there is nothing else in the picture which will discount the essentially humanistic presentation of a human subject. And those who are unwilling or unable to accept this image of human love as the symbol of the soul's intercourse with the Divine will find ample compensation in the passionate warmth of its colour scheme and in the physical beauty of a picture of the charming sensuousness of human desires. To the Kangra painters, and the village folks for whom they painted, these subjects, perhaps, came (through the inevitable result of their religious association) as common and everyday symbols of the soul and its craving for the Divine, pictured and realized in the romantic stories of the Love of Radha and Krishna—the Hîndu "Dante and Beatrice."

A few words may be added for the benefit of those ignorant of the cult of the betel leaf in India. The use of the betel leaf (*Piperacæ chavia betel*) with areca nut and quicklime is an universal practice in all parts of India and is supposed to be as old as the Vedas. It is credited with digestive properties and hence is used immediately after dinner which cannot be said to be complete without its distribution. It is



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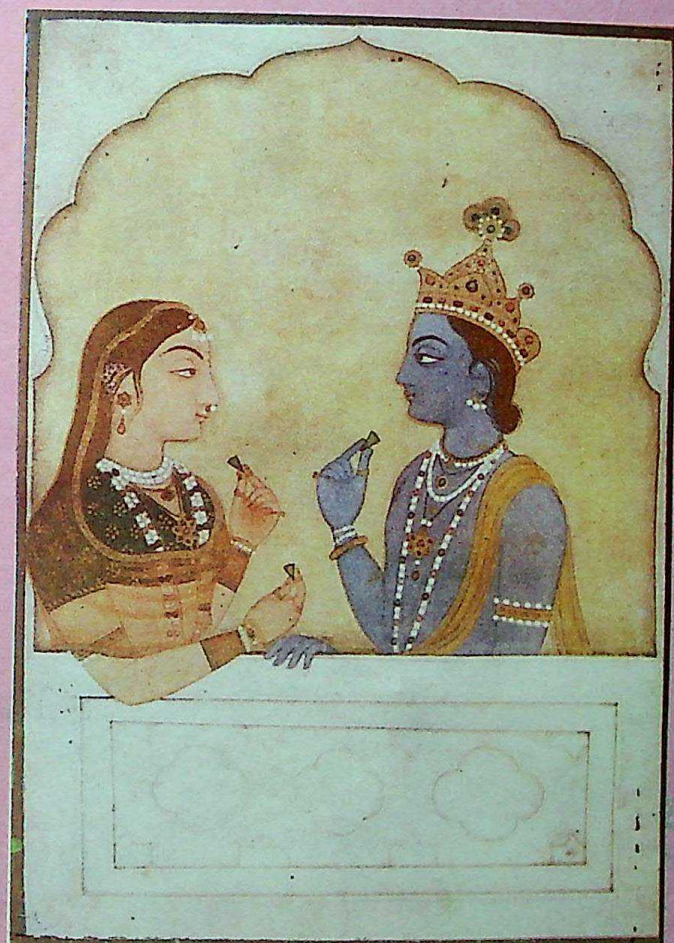
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impossible to overestimate the importance of the part the leaf has played in the social life of India. It is an essential of Indian hospitality. The presentation of a betel leaf marks the beginning and sometimes the termination of a friendly visit, and the

custom of serving the leaf is observed in many places with particular scrupulousness and great ceremony. It has been adopted in the service of the "pan and âtar," (the leaf and the scent), in Government levées and big official ceremonies in India.

VI.—INTUITION.

By STELLA BLOCH.

THE intuition first destroys, that it may create unhampered. It destroys the memory because it desires fullest life,—the new image must kill the old. So the same principle is repeated infinitely, everywhere, always and there is no monotony; no exhaustion, no depression. Depression arises from the imposition of matter on spirit. The spirit is untiring. He who is depressed is not well,—his mind is not clear, his body is too weak. He is lonely whose vision is poor,—he does not recognize that the walls of his room are as loyal to him as his dearest friend, and that the sunlight and his lover are the same visitor in different guise. The artist is he to whom the principle of life and existence appears in images. All his visions spring from this same fountain and are the varied forms of the one idea. The great artist cannot paint beautifully, nor can his hand be too weak for his thoughts. He can learn to paint only his own visions, and therefore his strokes have no beauty that is not one with the substance of which they are enamoured. *And no idea can outwit his hand.* He whose

heart is open to intuition can accumulate no worldly riches. Intuition cannot bear precedent,—it is sweeping and devastating like the wind before a storm,—the mind must open its gates blindly to conjure the lightning and the unforgettable images. He whose hand is facile and who plays idly and well with his tools has built himself an impenetrable wall against the storms,—he shall always play and invent playthings. Even when he makes woeful things, they will have none but a smooth utterance. He shall accumulate great riches, he will know many things. He will die insatiate, for the soul of his ambition will always cry for all the jewels in the world and all the knowledge of all things. But the artist is homeless and poor and knows nothing,—everyday the sun shall light a new idea in his brain: within him is the great understanding which disguises and reveals itself in never-ending variety of forms,—which yields and destroys constantly the images wherein it clothes itself. He is greatly blessed to whom all existence reveals but one thought.

REVIEW.

LOKESVARA SATAKAM OU CENT STROPHES EU L'HONNEUR DU
SEIGNEUR DU MONDE PAR VAJRADATTA EDITE ET TRADUIT
PAR M^{lle}. SUZANNE KARPELES, 109 pp., PARIS,
IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE, 1919.

MADEMOISELLE KARPELES deserves the best thanks of the Indologists interested in Mahâyâna literature for her very careful edition of the text of the poem, and an excellent French translation, not too literal in character, but giving a careful interpretation of the sense in order to make the original apprehensible to Western readers. There is a literary charm in the rendering

which appeals even to a foreigner not sufficiently conversant with the niceties of the French tongue and a graceful and limpid flow of style. The authoress appears to be well versed in Sanskrit and, with a view to restore the purity of the text, has compared four Sanskrit manuscripts and one Tibetan manuscript. A copy of one of these was secured from the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The publication of

the Tibetan version (forming a part of Bstan-hgyur) along with the Sanskrit original has further enhanced the value of this scholarly work which has secured for Mlle. Karpelès the distinction of an "Elève diplômée" (diploma-holder) of the School of High Studies in Paris. It is not, however, from the philological standpoint that the work has appealed to us. The highly artificial style of the poet, abounding as it does in alliteration and pedantic phrases which make it a trying work to wade through the work, can hardly have any attraction for the student of literature. To the readers of "Rupam," the booklet, we believe, will appeal on account of the interesting sidelight it throws on Buddhist and Hindu Iconography. The names Lokeshvara and Lokanātha, as is well known, are synonyms of Avalokitesvara, "the personified pity" of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Since Dr. Waddell published his article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1894 (p. 51 *et. seq.*) on the cult of Avalokita and his consort Tārā, and Prof. Foucher made his quota of contribution in his studies in Buddhist Iconography, there has not been any considerable addition to the bibliography on the subject before Mlle. Karpelès took up the editing and translation of the work under review. The poet Vajradatta, the author of Lokeshvara-Satakam, was apparently an inhabitant of Bengal, and flourished in the reign of King Devapāla—the third King of the so-called Pala dynasty. According to accepted chronology, the poet must be placed in the first half of the ninth century, when Buddhism, as a living cult, had a fairly strong hold in the province. In the catalogue of miniatures and inscriptions of MS. Add, 1643 Cambridge, added as an appendix to M. Foucher's well-known work, we find that Lokanātha was worshipped in different places both in the Rādh and Varendra tracts of Bengal (*op. cit.*, pp. 195, 199, 200, 202). Inscriptions like "Rādhyā-Kanyarama Lokanātha," "Radhyarama (Radhyame?)—Jahta (Jata?)—Lokanātha," "Varendra-Tulaksetra-Lokanāth," "Varendra-Dedapura-Lokanātha," "Varendra-Haladi-Lokanātha," could have no significance, if the existence of well-known shrines for the

worship of Lokanātha had not existed at the places mentioned. Lokanātha as a proper name of Hindu males is still current in different parts of Bengal and in different classes of society, although the Bengalees have now forgotten that it was "the cherished name divine" among the Buddhist forbears, the mere mention or remembrance of which was believed to be an effective means of securing immunity from various evils—physical and spiritual. Vajradatta, we find, has not been remiss in this particular. He also has sung the praises of Avalokita (in verses 48, 49, 50, 51 and 52) in faithful obedience to the doctrines inculcated in the Saddharma-pundarika, that this God of Pity has the power to save his devotees from cruel bonds, enemy prisons, the monsters of the sea, fire, wild elephants, and poisonous serpents. It is said that by composing these hundred verses in honour of the beneficent deity, the devout poet was cured of the disease of leprosy—a fact which reminds us of another composer of "cents strophes," the poet Mayura, whose Surya-Satakam, according to current tradition, brought him similar relief. The practice of composing Satakams (hundred verses) seems to have been a favourite practice with some of the Indian poets of the 7th century, and not only Bāna—the author of Harsha-charita—who is believed to be a contemporary of Mayura, but also Bhartihari, a poet ascribed by some to the middle of the 7th century, wrote poems in this form, the former in the praise of Goddess Chandi and the later on *ars amatica*. It is only natural that Vajradatta, who is a mere imitator of previous models, should be found lacking in some of the essential qualities of a true poet. It is curious to consider how a purely metaphysical creation of Indian Buddhism could have developed into the many-handed poly-cephalous deities of the Chinese and the Tibetans. With all the diversities of physical features, there are certain essential traits or test emblems in the images, which mark out the Lord Avalokita (He who looks down from high) from the other members of the Buddhist Pantheon. In his right hand Lokeshvara holds a lotus, and over his high-jewelled chignon, often replaced by a

Crown or Mukuta, is found the seated figure of Amitabha who stands to him in the relation of a spiritual father. This fact, we find mentioned in Vajradatta's poem (verse 47), where Lokanâtha is described as "one who carries Amitabha upon his crown." Proper stress has also been laid by the poet on the lotus insignia of the god and in the poem we find Avalokita referred to in various places as "the one who holds the lotus in his hand." We find that not only is Avalokita addressed as the one "whose tiara is ornamented with a Buddha," but in verse 36 it is stated that the "Blessed One" (the Buddha) on Lokeshvara's crown is sometimes made to assume the guise of the moon. This piece of additional information will be very welcome to those who venture into the mazes of Buddhist signs and symbols. In another verse we find an explanation of the allegory of the lion and elephant symbol. Here we find the Lord of the World described by Vajradatta as a lion with undulating mains, reposing in the forest of Brahma's tresses, terrifying the "enemy elephants" (the personification of the vices) who fix on him their furtive and nervous glances. It would not, we think, be unreasonable to infer from this that the motif representing a lion mounted on an elephant must have signified to the Buddhists the vanquishment of the forces of evil by the divine grace of Buddha or of Avalokita. Among the female deities mentioned in the course of the poem, we find Bodhi-Lakshmi (in verse 11), a name which does not occur among any of the classes of "divinites feminines" of Prof. Foucher.

In the Lokeshvara-Satakam, the Hindu deities are represented as bending in obeisance before the feet of Avalokita, their

divine lustre dimmed by the brightness diffused by the nails of Lokeshvara's toes. Among other Hindu gods of note, we find Indra mentioned in the poem under the less familiar appellations of Balûri and Jambhâri, and Skanda is described as worshipping Lokeshvara (in verse 61) along with the king of serpents—the semi-divine nagas—whose sinuous grace we find so often sculptured on Buddhist stupas. Garuda, the traditional enemy of the serpent race, is not forgotten, and we find him mentioned under the name Tarkhsa. There is a reference also to the seven horses of the sun-god, and in the very same verse is described the exquisite beauty of the goddess Kali, who is said to be endowed with grace from the radiance of the toe-nails of Lokeshvara. The verse referred to goes to show that the cult of Kali, "the rapturous adoration of the mysterious energy which creates life only to destroy it," was current in Bengal, even during the mediæval Buddhist régime, and must be much earlier than the 9th century of the Christian era. To the curious student interested in the schools of Hindu Philosophy, the attitude of the Buddhist sectaries towards the doctrines of Kanada and Gautama can well be surmised from the contemptuous reference to their philosophical wrangles in verse 83. There are other interesting facts bearing evidence of the strange melange of Hindu and Buddhist sacred lore which is sure to excite the interest of the serious student of Indology, and we commend the work not only to archaeologists and students of Indian sculpture, and iconography, but to all who take interest in any glimmer of light that tends to illuminate the gloom of India's past.

G. D. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor, "Rupam."

Dear Sir,—Please allow me to congratulate you on the excellent style in which the "Rupam" is got up, and for the many interesting and learned articles contained therein. I wish this new Journal a long life.

What interested me most is your article on "A Buddhist Image from Burma" at pages 15-19 in No. 2 of the "Rupam." As I think that any additional information regarding the images of the Buddha illustrated in that article may be of

some interest to you, I send you the following notes :

(i) At page 18, you say that, with regard to the standing figure facing that page, "It appears to have been carved from one single piece, except the right hand which is a separate and a new piece added by way of 'restoration.'" It is very seldom that the whole figure is carved out of a single piece—unless it is of small dimensions. The hands and outer edges of the lower part of the robe are generally made of separate pieces and mortised on to the main piece.

(ii) The colossal image of the Buddha from the Ananda Temple, Pagan, shown in the next plate is of recent make. The original figure was burnt down, and a new one was put in its place. So,

(iii) you may remark that the disposition and arrangements of the folds of its robe are quite different from that which may be seen on the figure from the Naga Yon Temple, Pagan. This temple is almost contemporaneous with or even earlier than the Ananda Pagoda by a few years, and I have no doubt that the image of the Buddha there is contemporaneous with the temple itself. One of the original colossal images of the standing Buddha in the Ananda Temple is given in Fig. B, Plate I, of the Annual Report of this Department for the year 1917, and you will perceive neither the

cast of countenance nor the draperies are the same; the cast of countenance in your plate facing p. 18 and fig. (A) facing p. 19, are not met with at Pagan down to its fall in 1287. The face and draperies are quite modern.

(iv) As I have said before, the figure referred to in note (i) above may be only a representation of Buddha Gautama. I have never come across a figure of Dipankara without its hand or hands being raised in the *Abhaya mudra*.

Yours sincerely,
CH. DUROISELLE.

Mandalay,
20th September, 1920.

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

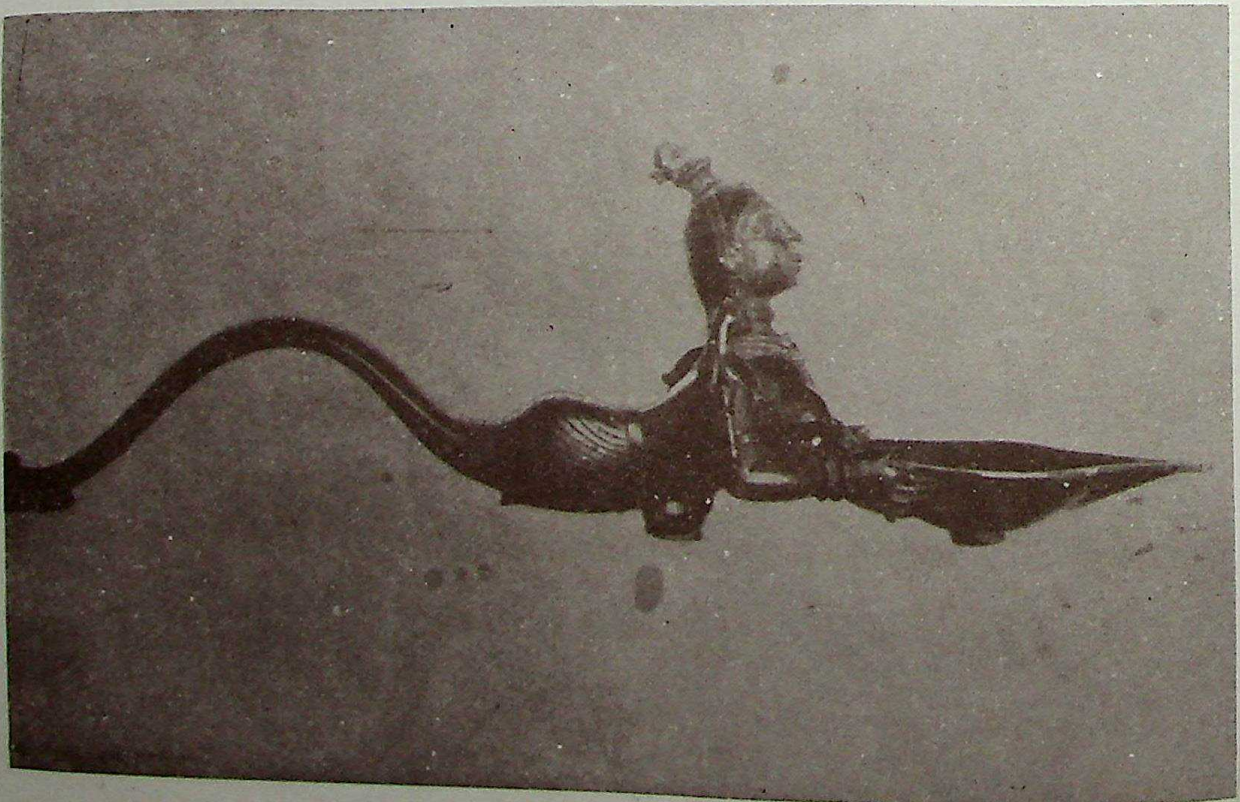
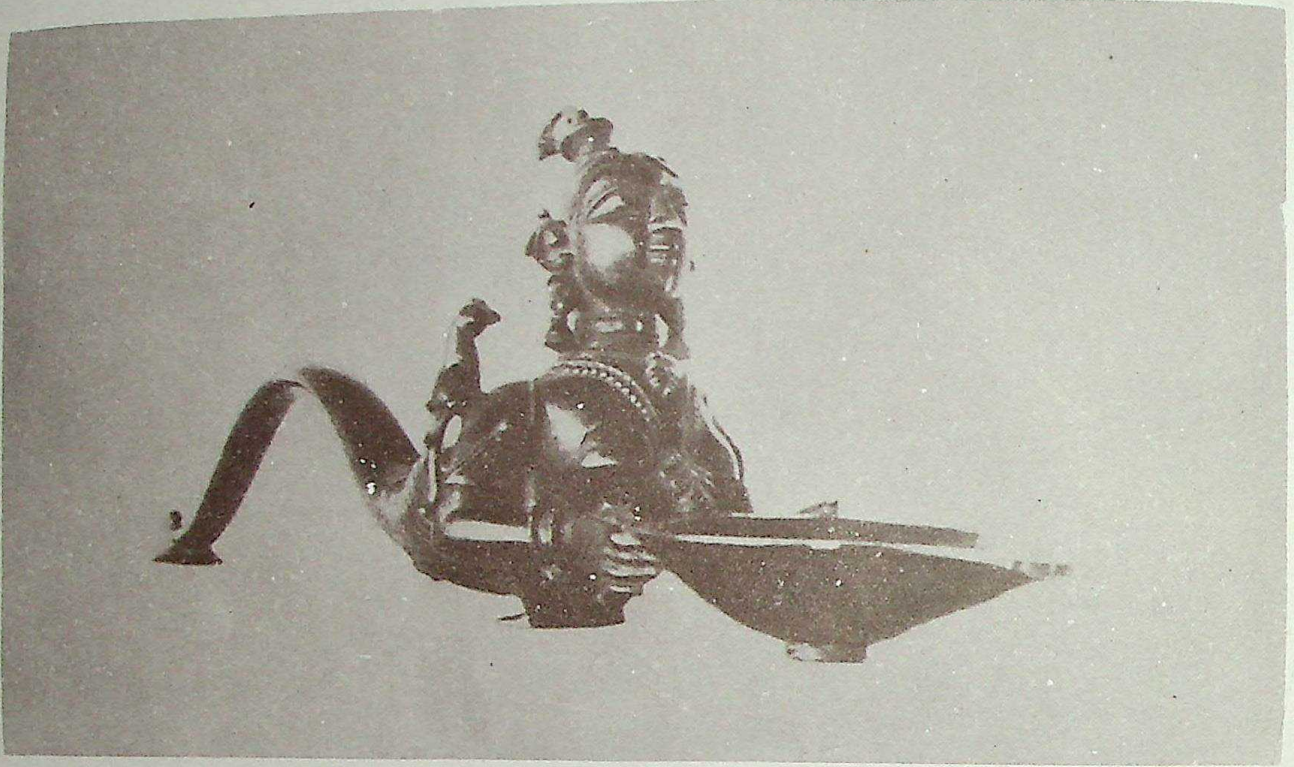
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A stamped and addressed envelope must accompany all manuscripts, of which the return is desired in case of non-acceptance. Every care will be taken of manuscripts, but copies should be kept, as the Editor can in no case be responsible for accidental loss.

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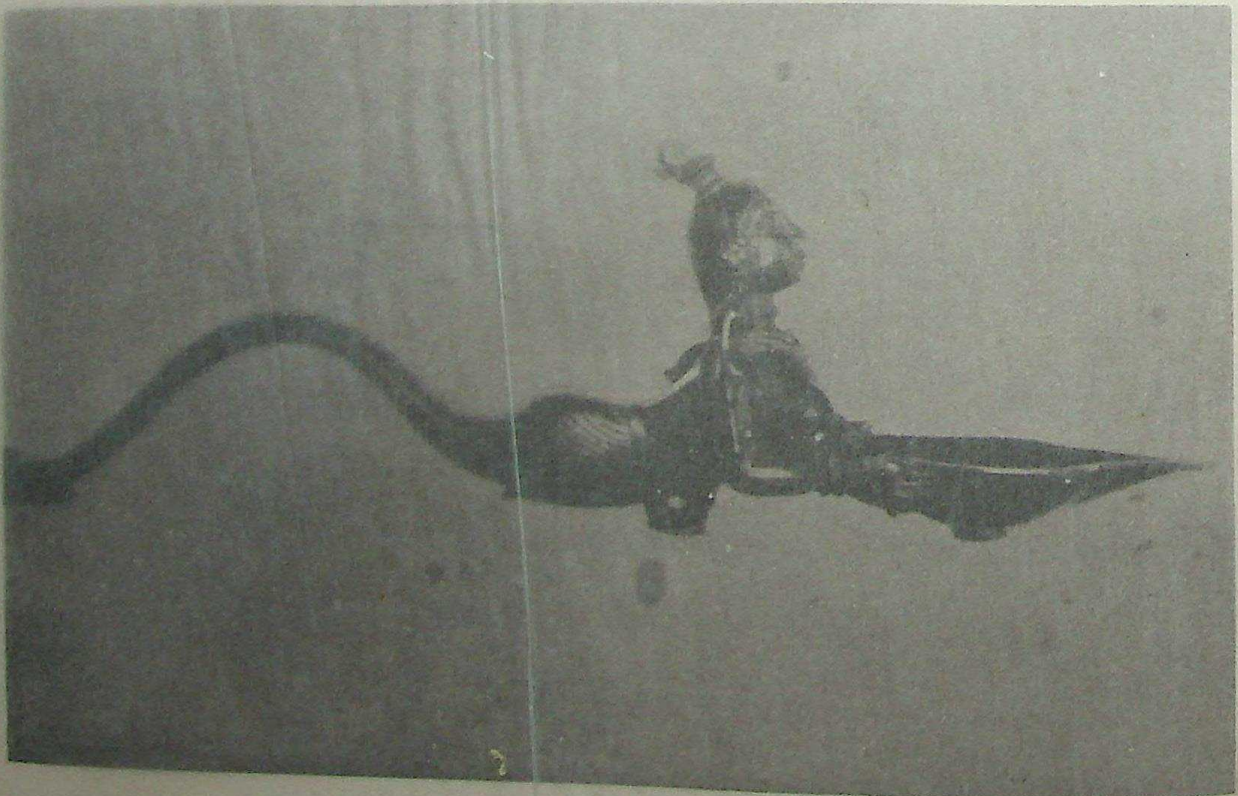


I.—A BRASS LAMP FROM CONJEVERAM.

OF all the paraphernalia of Hindu temple-worship none has inspired the Indian metal craftsman with such infinite variety of designs as the lamps used for the worship of images in temples. The richness and the variety met with in the designs of temple lamps are of such extraordinary exuberance that there is no doubt that this branch of craftsmanship was regarded as one of the most important parts of the work of metal workers, and some of the most skilled and accomplished sculptors must have been employed in designing and casting metal lamps. Of the chief centres which have produced lamps in huge quantities, Nepal and Southern India have been able to preserve evidences of a living craft in this line. They must have been used in profusion in the dark and ill-lighted Buddhist Vihâras, Chaityas, and temples, but we have very few evidences of the types of lamps used in Northern India. Of Nepal and Southern India, the two rivals in the field, it is difficult to say which should be given the palm. Nepal appears to outbid the Southern Indian examples by the exuberance and richness of design and execution, but the Southern Indian "vilâkkus" (lamps) are unrivalled in the innumerable variety of their shapes. The Nepalese lamps, some of which bear interesting inscriptions, have not yet been studied, though the materials are accumulating every year. Some of the principal types in Southern Indian lamps have been the subject of two contributions to which the interested reader may be referred (*Burlington Magazine*, July 1916, p. 141; and *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, No. 136, October 1916). For various reasons the casting of lamps has been an active living industry in Southern India. One of the principal causes can, no doubt, be found in the extreme popularity of this form of religious offering to the temples. The form of devadânam, (lit., gift to the gods) most general in Southern India, is votive lamps, and the walls of Southern Indian temples are covered with innumerable inscriptions recording their dedication. Provi-

sions for their perpetual illumination have constantly been made by legal endowments, most frequently in the form of gifts of cows, sheep and buffaloes, whose milk was to provide the "ghi" (clarified butter) necessary for feeding the lamps, so that their light might continually present before the deity the burning devotion of the donor. . . . Especial merit was believed to attach to this particular form of endowment, and the belief is supported by many texts of Hindu religious literature, one of which enjoins: "There have been and there can be no better gifts than the gifts of the lamps." A reference to a legal fine imposed in the time of Kulotunga Chola III may be cited as evidence of peculiar protective value attached to these donations. A document of that time records an accidental homicide at a deer-hunt which was to be atoned for by the payment of a fine as endowment of a perpetually burning lamp in the temple for the benefit of the homicide, "in order that he may escape possible mischief from the revengeful soul of his victim."

By the courtesy of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, we are enabled to reproduce in the frontispiece a very interesting Southern Indian brass lamp from his collection, which comes from Conjeveram in the Chingleput District (S. India). Although it recalls similar types with human representations holding the cup in hand, it is unique in its form, and this particular type does not appear to be represented in any of the known collections. There is no doubt whatever that this example, like many other known varieties, is derived from the standing types of Southern Indian lamps devised in the form of a female figure carrying in the hands a cup for the burning of the wick. They are known as "Dipa Lakshmis," or beauty lamps. They are represented in many brass and copper specimens in all the collections, public and private. The representative specimens are well illustrated in the articles cited above. One of the characteristic features of the "Lamps of Beauty" is a bird which is often



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represented seated on the right upper arm of the figure, and it also occurs in the present example. The makers of this type of lamps rarely missed it, and it must have some peculiar ritual significance or symbolism which we have been unable to discover. Probably some of our readers may be able to throw light on the point. The "Dipa Lakshmis" of the standing type are used for perpetual or periodical illumination before images, and are generally votive gifts from devotees. In the present example the figure terminates in a long, tapering handle, which the priest holds in using it. It is evident that it is an "âratî" lamp used by the officiating priest at the ceremony of "the waving of the lamp" celebrated every morning and evening in all temples. Some patterns, very near to this type, have come from Ceylon and Java. It is beyond the scope of this note to go into the genealogies of the forms of these lamps, but a few kindred types may be useful in evoking further studies. The nearest parallel to Sir John Marshall's lamp is afforded by a very interesting, though a crude, example in brass in the Lahore museum, illustrated in figure 1. It is in the form of a flying fairy, or a "kinnari" with wings, and carries the cup for the wick in her hands as in the example from Conjeeveram. It also appears to be a temple lamp and has a stem or a rod attached to its body for the purpose of hanging it, apparently, before the presiding image in the temple. The idea of "kinnaris" offering a lamp to the deities has a very early history. In many reliefs at Sanchi and at Mathura, there are representations of stûpas which are worshipped by gods, men and "kinnaris" and "gandarbhās" with wreaths and flowers. In Gupta sculptures, "kinnaris" carrying garlands to worship the Buddha are very familiar motifs. The substitution of a lamp in the place of a garland must have been a very easy step. The device attained many decorative uses in Brahmanic Art and has offered especially interesting motifs in the manufacture of lamps. In the very interesting example from Java (fig. 2), we have the "garuda" substituted in the place of a "kinnari," and it must have belonged to a Vishnu temple. The motif of a "kinnari," with which a "gandarbhā" is

very often confounded, is also profusely used in all forms of Hindu Art. Of "kinnari" lamps, the best known example (fig. 6) is reproduced, by the courtesy of the Director, from the collection of the Royal Ethnographic Museum at Leiden (No. 3328, Katalog Band V. Javanische Altertumer 1909, p. 163). It comes from Java and offers very interesting comparison with the lamp reproduced in the frontispiece. It has a human bust with the body of a bird; it perches on the cup with its legs and holds it with its hands with an arrested motion which gives it a very subtle and happy pose. The body is cast hollow, thus furnishing a cavity for holding the oil or the "ghî" for replenishing the cup. In figure 5 we have another variant of this type of lamp. It also comes from Java and belongs to the same collection. The bust is that of a human female as in the other example. It has no wings nor tail, and the two hands which are so prominent features in figure 6 are absent in this example. The coronet on the head of the figure 5 is of Southern Indian type, while that of the "kinnari" in figure 6 is of indigenous Javanese type. It offers the nearer link to the examples of the mainland of India, and we may be permitted to conclude that the type in figure 5 must have been derived from Southern India. Yet in its design and motif it is fairly distant from the example belonging to Sir John Marshall. The latter is a direct descendant from the type of the "Dipa Lakshmi" (illustrated in figure 3), and illustrates a human devotee motif rather than the superhuman type of the "kinnaris." In the former types we have a symbolical portrait of the donor of the lamp, who has the supremely pious satisfaction of being of daily service in the morning and evening solemnities of the devotee's "ishta-devatâ" (beloved god). A somewhat similar motive is expressed in the "Nandi" Lamp in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, illustrated in figure 4. The animal with a human face with a beard represents Nandi, the sacred bull of Siya. Nandi, in Hindu mythology, is the favourite retainer of Siya, and typifies the faithful devotee. Nandi is here represented performing the "âratî" with the lamp in one hand

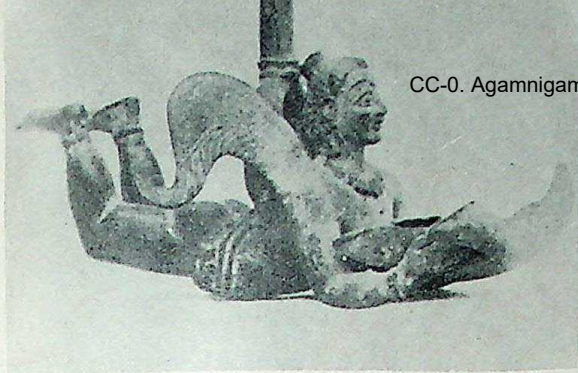


Fig 1

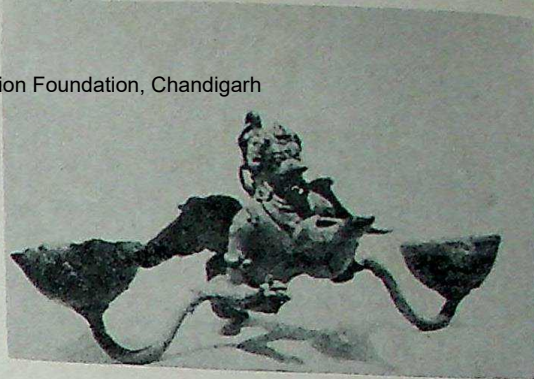


Fig 2



Fig 3

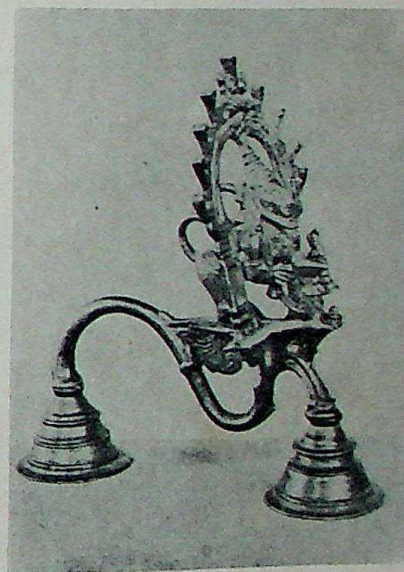


Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6

and a bell in the other. It has a decorative halo with a "kirtimukha," and on the circle are placed nine receptacles for wicks. The whole device is placed on a stem, a portion of

which furnishes the handle which terminates in two stands. It is a unique specimen of its kind, and must have developed from the type illustrated in the frontispiece.

II.—ASIATIC ART: ITS NOMENCLATURE AND PRESENT APPRECIATION IN WESTERN COUNTRIES.

By H. F. E. VISSER.

IT is easy to understand that, as the Eastern part of Asia is named "The Far East" by the English and "l'Extrême Orient" by the French, most people include, under Oriental or Eastern art, not only Minor-Asiatic, Indian and Indonesian art, but also that of China and Japan. They call everything that to them is not Western or American, Oceanic, African, or Siberian, "Oriental" or "Eastern," and thereby adopt a nomenclature which, from the point of view of art, is open to objection, chiefly for the two following reasons: First, the art of the Asiatic part of the world is a thing of an essentially bi-articulate character; Minor-Asiatic art¹ is something very different from the huge complex of art of the rest of the Asiatic part of the world (minus Siberia). Secondly, it is well-known that some people are accustomed to call only Minor-Asiatic art "Oriental"; they do not think of attributing this name to things Indian, Chinese, etc.

Consequently, by the collective term "Oriental art," which, as we have seen, is often employed to denote the *sum* of the two varieties of Asiatic art indicated, more exact students mean Minor-Asiatic art alone. This, in itself, as giving rise to misunderstanding, is a sufficient reason to remove the term out of our conversation on art. Meanwhile, to make use of a collective term to denote two very different things is also objectionable, and, therefore, it may be suggested that to these two artistic varieties one name—whether "Oriental" or "Eastern"—should no longer be given, but separate terms.

What would be the most correct, and at the same time the most practical, name for Minor-Asiatic art, may be left out of account in this paper, which does not deal with that question. On the other hand, however, we should now agree about the nomenclature of that important and magnificent complex of Asiatic art to which this article is devoted, namely, the art of India, Further-India and Siam, of China, Japan and Corea (Far Eastern art), of Turkestan, Tibet and Nepal, of Hindoo-Javanese and of Indonesian art.

Is not "Asiatic art," indeed, the best name we could choose to denote the æsthetic complex here indicated? I think it really is, and, in my opinion, we should in future assume a nomenclature (adopted about ten years ago in Paris, if I mistake not) which has, in all respects, proved to be characteristic, ingenious, and practical. *Why* it is such an excellent name, I shall presently try to explain. In the meantime, I hope that it will be understood that this question of nomenclature is not a matter which can be summarily settled, for example, with a shrug of the shoulders: "What's in a name?"

No one will deny, I presume, that the countries which gave rise to South, East, and Central-Asiatic art² form the very core of the Asiatic part of the world (we must not here think of its purely geographical sense); nor will it be denied that Asia's *essential* significance proceeds from the æsthetic, religious and philosophic creations of these countries.

In fact, the name "Asia" to-day suggests to those blessed with some real

¹ By me, Minor-Asiatic artistic productions in Central Asia and India are reckoned as substantially belonging to this Art.

² An abbreviation of the former, more detailed, enumeration, to indicate Indian, Further-Indian, Siamese art, and so on.

insight into art, religion, and philosophical matters, the immense South-East-Central-Asiatic spiritual domain; "Asia" is no more a mere geographical sound.

For these reasons, it will be clear that, since the extension of the complex of visual art, which we here have to consider, tallies in principal traits with that of the South-East-Central-Asiatic spiritual domain (of which it is one of the most important subdivisions), the best collective name to denote this æsthetic complex is certainly "Asiatic art"—*Ars Asiatica*. So far as to the nomenclature of the matter.¹

Till now, one of my premises has been that Minor-Asiatic art differs essentially from the æsthetic complex henceforth entitled Asiatic art. And in the mere use of the word "complex" another premise is implied, which might be formulated as follows: Asiatic art, in its best manifestations, displays an unparalleled continuity of æsthetic traditions and hence a magnificent *oneness*.

Perhaps, someone will differ with me about these premises; or, to express it in a more correct and adequate way, will differ with me about them in feeling. As these premises bear a purely æsthetic character, they can be disputed merely on emotional grounds. Indeed, it all depends here on our insight into art; that is to say, on our feeling for form and rhythm; and, of course, on our artistic experience as regards the manifestations of Asiatic and Minor-Asiatic art.

In this connection, it ought to be mentioned that—especially in Western countries—the insight into art is passing through a crisis. Most people are still accustomed to look at visual art with Late-Greek and "Renaissance" eyes; to them, art is not a matter of intense architectonic-rhythmic emotion felt for forms and combinations of forms, but a series of anthropocentric and realistic narratives, of historic and ethnographic documents, and sometimes, of psychic and religious raptures. That to

judge art for itself, a purely æsthetic standard (and no other) must be applied, we nearly all forget. Many sincerely believe they have gained an insight into art when they have learned to appreciate merely the degree of imitation in its realistic manifestations, or the sentimental and ethic meaning of the things represented by them. In a word, art to-day is once more confounded with representation, as has been the case at different times in Europe (Late-Greek, Roman, Renaissance art, and so on), and unfortunately, of late also in Asia, influenced by the West. The consequences of this "point of view" in artistic matters, as far as Asiatic art is concerned, will be dealt with presently.

As now-a-days some people feel that works of art should no longer be judged by their "contents"—that is to say, the representation or the story in a work—it must be allowed, in view of what has been said above, that a crisis in the general æsthetic attitude exists. The opinion of this, not yet very numerous, category of people is, namely, that there can be but one starting-point for the appreciation of all visual and musical art—their forms and combinations of forms. They think that no work of art, unless it moves the rhythmic-æsthetic sense, will endure the artistic intuition or the insight into art, and that, as this rhythmic-æsthetic sense bears a cosmic character, all feelings, directly or indirectly connected with nature, with men, and with the life of men in all times, prevent us ever becoming conscious of the value of art *as art*.

A modern artist, strongly moved by an early Egyptian sculpture of a deity, may fail to notice the religious meaning of this work of art, because he is wholly ignorant of Egyptian religions. He very probably will also know nothing about Egyptian archæology, whilst the psychic expression of the figure, supposing it to be a man-like being, may not be in tune with his own psychical nature. He is, nevertheless, aware of the immense importance of the deity as a work of art. On the other hand, the statue will certainly have moved some Egyptian artist of the age in which the work was carved, in an æsthetic as well as in a religious and psychical sense.

¹ If I have somewhat abused the patience of my reader with the space taken up by the foregoing discussion, I beg to remind him that there is a lack of method in the nomenclature of non-European art which should be attended to.

Indeed, that the general æsthetic insight of important artists since pre-historical times has always been the same in kind, is proved clearly by the best works of art of all countries, made in those ages when a magnificent *style* prevailed, or created by good artists of inferior periods of art. Hence, a modern artist, who is sensitive to the essentials in art, is as capable of a full æsthetical appreciation of the Egyptian statue as his Egyptian colleague of so many centuries ago.

Whilst the religious, the psychic and also the historic effects caused by the contents (the representation, the story, etc.) of works of art differ with each individual with each state of mind, and, not the least, with each age, the appreciation of the forms and of the rhythm of these works has been and always must be about the same. The contents of works of art, on the contrary, are interpreted by each individual in a different way; which is quite comprehensible, since there is nothing positive about the said contents.

There is nothing positive about a work of art but its forms. Only forms can move, everywhere and at all times, the cosmic natured æsthetic organ of man. Art must be judged by the distinctive marks of . . . art, that is to say, by forms—just as we judge mathematics by the distinctive marks of mathematics. Forms constitute the only positive element (if it be allowed to use the term “positive” in æsthetical matters) in a work of art, because they are everlasting and independent of our states of mind. Hence, the insight into art of museum-directors and of all persons appointed to guide the æsthetic taste of the public, must be based on the purely æsthetic marks of works of art.

The selections of a museum-director, who is constantly guided by the contents and by his own moods of mind, cannot but bear a purely temporary character. After-years will prove his mistakes to have been legion.

If a work of art moves us as art, by its forms and combinations of forms, and if, over and above that, its religious and its psychic contents, or its representation of nature, move us to a high degree, then, I admit, this work of art will cause an emotion

still more richly variegated than the pure æsthetic emotion. Religious, psychic elements and the like may contribute valuable factors to the *total* value of a work of art, but these elements do not change the work's æsthetic value; not in the least.

First of all, a work of art should move us as art. When once it has moved us æsthetically, we may discuss its religious and its psychical value. To judge art as art is so obvious that but few people to-day judge art in this way.

Here, I may briefly recall why I entered in the foregoing argumentation about insight into art. In my opinion, the two premises—Minor-Asiatic art differs essentially from the Asiatic æsthetic complex, and Asiatic art displays a magnificent oneness—can be disputed only on emotional grounds. As such, I enumerated our insight into art and our artistic experience—artistic experience, of course, always bears an emotional character—as far as Minor-Asiatic and Asiatic art is concerned. As I dealt with insight into art (insight into all art, be it noted), the individual æsthetic experience of students of art in the sphere of Asiatic and Minor-Asiatic art ought now to be examined.

The mere facts, that a student of art scarcely ever specialises in Minor-Asiatic as well as in Indian or Far-Eastern art;¹ that consequently there are experts in Minor-Asiatic art and specialists in Asiatic art (or in a sub-division of it); that, as a rule, we find collectors who collect only Minor-Asiatic art and collectors who buy only works of Far-Eastern or of Indian art (or both), and that we seldom come across collectors who gather works of Minor-Asiatic as well as of Asiatic art—all these facts show that, among lovers of art, there exists a special liking, either for Minor-Asiatic or Asiatic masters.

From this, even an outsider might deduce that Minor-Asiatic art differs from Asiatic art. Still, as regards our first premise, a mere deduction of this sort will not do. We cannot become conscious of, we cannot feel the difference, until we possess

¹ Gaston Migeon should be mentioned for being an author on Minor-Asiatic and Far-Eastern art.

some æsthetic experience of the entire art of the Asiatic part of the world. Artistic intuition will do the rest.

The difference between the æsthetic sentiment of Minor-Asiatic and of Asiatic masters might, perhaps, be characterised in this manner. The rhythm of Asiatic art is fiercer, is more accentuated, than the rhythm of Minor-Asiatic art; the former is less sensuous than the latter, not only in its forms and combinations of forms, but also in its coloration. Whilst Asiatic art is strongly emotional, Minor-Asiatic art, compared with the former, is more refinedly decorative; the delicate gesture of its forms moves the æsthetic sense less than the magnificent tension of the forms in Asiatic works of art. Minor-Asiatic art is more showy than Asiatic art; the latter is more intense, more profound, than the first.

Minor-Asiatic art has long been more familiar to Western taste than Far-Eastern and Indian art. Anyone acquainted with Western art will understand what this signifies. The familiarity with Minor-Asiatic art is, moreover, obvious from the organization and arrangement of Western museums and their collections. In Europe, this art has got over what I might call the ethnographical phase. Far-Eastern art nearly has; Indian, and especially Indonesian, art has not yet succeeded in conquering the place to which it has a right. But "*la victoire est en marche!*"

To dispute the second premise (the æsthetic oneness of Asiatic art), a merely superficial experience of South, East and Central-Asiatic art, combined with that always indispensable keen artistic intuition and an essential insight into art, is not sufficient; it is only after having been moved often by many Indian works and many Far-Eastern works, by Further-Indian as well as by Indonesian works, that we can become conscious of the continuity of Asiatic art traditions.

Now, it so happens that there are many experts in special branches of Asiatic art—such as Indian, Far-Eastern, Indonesian art, Japanese woodcuts, Chinese, Japanese pottery, etc., etc.—but few students, and consequently few authors, in the entire

domain of Asiatic art.¹ Hence, the oneness of Asiatic art is not realised at present, as, in my opinion, it should be.

One cannot, of course, become an expert in all branches of this art, and it is matter for congratulation that many authors confine themselves to a special category of it, since in many cases it is only in this way that good work can be done.

However, no expert or author in a special branch of the Asiatic æsthetic complex should fail to make some study of all branches of this complex which do not belong to his sphere. A not too superficial insight into these will deepen his insight into the artistic province, to whose study he is devoting himself. Since Asiatic art is, as it were, an organic complex, the expert in one of its branches—just like the physician, who, before becoming a specialist, must know the whole of man's body—should know the significance of this art in its totality.

About twenty years ago, it was practically impossible to become, what I might call, an "all-round" connoisseur of *Ars Asiatica*. But to-day, as anyone will admit who has some knowledge of the recent acquisitions of our museums and private collections and of the rich literature on our subject which has been published since the end of the 19th century, it is becoming quite possible for the younger generation of students of art to gain a broad insight into the different artistic works of South, East and Central Asia. Something like it, as regards the study of Western art, has been long a matter of course. I hope that in the next decennary it will become a matter of course in our domain also.

As regards the stage of appreciation at which *Ars Asiatica* has now arrived in Western countries, I shall have to confine myself to some short marginal notes, since this is a subject to which an extensive essay should be devoted. Moreover, let us consider only what may be called the more or less "official" appreciation revealed by the part Asiatic art assumes in European and American museums. Even very brief notes

¹ To this little group belong i.a.: H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, William Cohn, Victor Goloubew, T. B. Reorda, Alfred Salmony, Karl With.

on the "non-official" appreciation of Asiatic art, and the special liking for certain of its categories manifested by the selection made by lovers of art for their private collections, would far surpass the limits of this paper. I must, therefore, refer the reader to the few remarks which have been made on the subject in my article on the Exhibition of Far-Eastern Art at Amsterdam—1919 (*The Burlington Mag.*, Oct., 1919).

I pointed out that to most Western people (and to-day, as I fear, to many inhabitants of Asia also) visual art, first of all, means representation. Many judge works of art still by their contents, not by their forms. Though the æsthetic insight is changing and, indeed, getting purified, we still suffer from the old artistic point of view. Our ancestors did not grasp the æsthetic significance of Asiatic forms and Asiatic design, whilst the contents of Asiatic works of art were pretty strange to them. If this be kept in mind, it will be understood that, for years, Asiatic art was looked upon as a series of archæological, ethnographical, religious and folklore documents. Thus, important, even magnificent, works of this art were, after belonging to cabinets of curiosities, annexed by ethnographic museums.

Need it be said that the æsthetic value of each work of art preponderates, since many learned students of Asiatic religions, languages, ethnography, archæology, etc., etc., are, as far as Asiatic things are concerned, not at all of this opinion? Such an assertion seems to be not quite superfluous! These students forget, in fact, that, in ethnographic museums, the ethnographic purpose will be quite as well answered by second-rate works of Asiatic art as by the finest works, which, like the masterpieces of Western artists, ought to figure amongst the treasures of our museums of art. Any representation of ethnographic, historic or religious interest, can be as well interpreted by a second-rate work as by the work of a master. That in the opinion of our forefathers—whose insight into art was spoiled by "Renaissance" ideals—the ethnographical and archæological factors of every work not European or Mediterranean in origin, were of greater importance than the

æsthetic factors, was quite in the nature of things, but, to-day, this point of view is becoming quite untenable.

According to modern views of the matter, the best works of art should, therefore, no longer be in ethnographic museums, where they are associated with bad works and with objects of purely ethnographical value. On account of the usual arrangement of the collections, it is in most ethnographical museums impossible to place works of art in relief, and in consequence of the *pêle-mêle* character of these institutions, that atmosphere almost never prevails which is indispensable for the adequate enjoyment of works of art.

Fortunately, since the end of the 19th century, things have taken a favourable turn. First, Far-Eastern art triumphed. Numerous exhibitions; departments of museums of art (Boston, the "Louvre," the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Far-Eastern section of the Freer collection in Washington, etc., etc.); sections of museum-departments of art (Asiatic paintings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, etc.) and, lastly *special* museums of Far-Eastern art (Cologne, the "Musée Cernuschi" in Paris and the "Museo Chiossone" in Genoa) have been devoted to the arts of China, Japan and Corea. To the new building at Dahlem which is to contain the Asiatic collections of the Berlin "Museum für Völkerkunde," wings have been added, in which the collections of Far-Eastern art of the Berlin museums will be exhibited. As the management of these collections is vested in a special director (a student of Far-Eastern art), the only "links" between the ethnographic collections of Asia and the collections of Far-Eastern art will consist of some corridors between the main building and the said wings. This Berlin method nearly fulfils the ideal of special museums devoted to Asiatic art.

Though the museum at Cologne is a special museum of Far-Eastern art, it is a pity that the new building erected for it has been added to the old building of the "Kunstgewerbe-Museum." One has to pass the hall of the latter museum, as well as the collections of Western art exhibited there,

before he enters the museum of Far-Eastern art.

That, in my opinion, the founding of special museums of Asiatic art—not only of Far-Eastern art—is highly desirable, I need scarcely affirm after what has been said about the study of this art. These museums should not be added to other museums (ethnographical institutions or museums of Western art), but must be erected as separate buildings, surrounded by beautiful gardens. London and Paris, for many different reasons, ought to make a start with this new type of museum.

That, after the triumph of Far-Eastern art, Indian art is now becoming more familiar to the æsthetic taste of Western lovers of art, is obvious from the founding of the

Boston museum's department of Indian art under the invaluable direction of Dr. Coomaraswamy.

Khmer sculptures should, therefore, no longer be exposed in the "Musée Indo-Chinois" of the Trocadéro at Paris amongst plaster-casts of Further-Indian art; it is long since anybody thought of exhibiting original Greek works amongst plaster-casts.

After the struggle of Indian art for full appreciation (a struggle from which the art of Gandhara was a solitary exception), it will be the turn of Indonesian art to overcome Western prejudices.

The day is not far when Asiatic art, in its different varieties, will have gained a complete victory in the West; a victory with all its highly beneficial consequences.

III.—AN HISTORICAL MINIATURE OF THE JAHANGIR SCHOOL.

TO students of Tudor history it is well-known that Henry VIII, after the death of Jane Seymour, sent out ambassadors to France and Belgium, in his queen-hunting expeditions. In all these missions the King's ambassador used to be accompanied by a portrait-painter who used to bring likenesses of the would-be bride for the King's inspection, and we know that Hans Holbein accompanied Phillip Holey in several of these expeditions. If we have no matrimonial missions in Indian history, we have at least one diplomatic mission in which the Court Painter accompanied the ambassador sent out by the Indian Emperor. Of these, the most interesting from the history of Mughal Painting, is the diplomatic mission which Emperor Jahangir (A.D. 1605-1627) sent to his "brother" Abbas—Shah 'Abbas I of Persia (A.D. 1587-1629)—one of the most brilliant kings of the Safavid dynasty. The Persian King appears to have been on very friendly terms with the Emperors at Delhi and used to send costly presents to the Indian Court. He had sent some very fine horses and other presents to Akbar. After the death of Akbar, and on the accession of Jahangir, Shah 'Abbas sent a congratulatory message with a long epistle couched in very picturesque language which is set out in full

in the *Memoirs of Jahangir* (edition Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 193-196) and the trend of which may be gathered from the following quotations: "For long past the customs of amity and the ways of intimacy which have been in existence between our ancestors, and now freshly have been re-established between this one who is bent on friendship and him who is intent on equity, demanded that when the good news of the accession of him who sits on the Gurgani throne and is the heir of the crown of Timur reached this country, one of the confidants of the royal palace should be nominated to convey congratulations, . . . but some delay took place in the accomplishment of this important duty. . . I have despatched Kamalu-d-din Yadgar 'Ali, to the most exalted Court, that after he has obtained the good fortune to salute you, to condole with you, and kissed the carpet of honour, and performed the dues of enquiry (after health, etc.), and may convey to the sincere mind of your well-wisher the good tidings of the safety of your angelic person and the health of your temperament that is of the brightness of the Sun and increases joy. It is hoped that the tree of hereditary friendship and assiduousness and the garden of intimacy and regard, both apparent and spiritual,



Khan 'Alam & Shah Abbas

which by the irrigation of the rivers of affection and the brooks of sincere regard acquire great splendour and greenness, not casting their leaves, may set in motion the chord of intimacy and drive away misfortune of estrangement by the arrival of correspondence, which is the communication of the soul, may connect by spiritual chains our visible friendship, and may favour the course and accomplishment of business" (p. 196). On the 30th March, 1615, another ambassador, Mustafa Beg, came from the Court of Iran with a letter of expressions of friendship and assurances of sincerity with several horses and camels and some stuff from Aleppo. Another present is also recorded by Jahangir in his Memoirs: "When the merchant 'Abdu-l-karim left Iran for Hindustan, my exalted brother Shah 'Abbas sent me by his hand a rosary of cornelian from Yernen and a cup of Venetian workmanship which was very fine and rare." (*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 310.) That the "tree of friendship" and the "garden of intimacy" lacked no "irrigation" of affection from Jahangir is proved by many tributes paid and presents sent by Jahangir to his "exalted brother." Of many such presents,* some are recorded in the Memoirs: "My brother Shah 'Abbas had asked for golden birds (Murgh-i-Zarin) and I sent some to him by his ambassador." In 1617, Jahangir returned the diplomatic visits of the ambassadors from the Safavid Court by sending, in his turn, one of his own ambassadors—Khân 'Alam Barkhurdar, son of Abdur-r-Rahamani, whom he summoned from the Deccan in order to despatch him to Iraq in company with the ambassador of the ruler of Iran. (*Ibid*, Vol. I., p. 248.) This friendly mission is recorded in a series of portrait groups (two of which we reproduce here) taken by the artist who accompanied the ambassador to the Persian Court. Curiously enough, the artist, who was chosen for this important ceremonial visit to a distant country, was not a Mughal nor a Persian, but a Hindu artist named Bishan Dâs. Jahangir's deep interest in painting is fully established by this interest-

ing episode. He took this opportunity of obtaining, in an artistic form, a pleasant memento of his "exalted brother" whom he could not visit personally, and had the happy expedient of procuring a living likeness of him through one of his Court painters. Indeed, he could not think of a better memento of this exchange of friendly missions. Our first picture is from the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Plate I, and represents the meeting of Khan 'Alam and Shâh 'Abbas. The scene is laid in a garden—an undulating hilly tract—the personages being grouped round the bank of an artificial lake or tank. According to the practice of the Mughal painters, the persons portrayed are all indicated by names inscribed in Persian. Shah 'Abbas is represented as receiving a cup from Khan 'Alam who is seated opposite with a servant standing behind him, apparently reaching him the presents one by one. On the left of the ambassador is seated Isha Khan Torchi Basi, and on the foreground to the left is seated Sharim Khaji; opposite him is Isphandiar Beg—probably a courtier of Shah 'Abbas. Both the latter and his courtier wear gloves. The King wears richly-flowered trousers with high boots which reach the knees. He has his arrows and quiver which is half disclosed in a richly-decorated cover. From his girdle peeps the royal dagger. The peculiar head-dress of the Shah has some resemblance to Italian caps. Particular interest attaches to the retainer standing at the elbow of the Shah, carrying a *hukka*, the peculiar smoking outfit of Oriental countries. Khan 'Alam was much enamoured of tobacco and had special permission from the Shah to smoke as much as he liked. This permission must have been given as a mark of special favour to "the friend's envoy," as both Jahangir and Shah 'Abbas had endeavoured to suppress tobacco-smoking. There is a very interesting passage in the Memoirs on this point which is very pertinent to our picture: "In consequence of the disturbance that tobacco brings about in most temperaments and constitutions, I had ordered that no one should smoke it. My brother Shah 'Abbas had also become aware of the mischief

* A diamond ring inscribed with the words "Lillahi" (for God) was sent to Shâh 'Abbâs along with other gifts as a souvenir of the Conquest of the Deccan (*Memoirs II*, pp. 8-9).

arising from it and had ordered that in Iran no one should venture to smoke?" As Khan 'Alam was without control in continual smoking of tobacco, he frequently practised it. Yadgar 'Ali Sultan, ambassador to the ruler of Iran, represented to Shah 'Abbas that Khan 'Alam could never be a moment without tobacco and he (Shah 'Abbas) wrote this couplet in answer: "The friend's envoy wishes to exhibit tobacco; With fidelity's lamp I light up the tobacco-market." Khan 'Alam, in answer, wrote and sent this verse:—"I, poor wretch, was miserable at the tobacco notice; By the just Shah's favour the tobacco-market became brisk." (*Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 371.) The cup which we find in the picture in the act of being handed over to the Shah by the ambassador from India has also a very interesting history which we can not do better than let the *Memoirs* relate in the actual words of Jahangir: "On the 21st I gave leave to Muhammad Riza, ambassador of the ruler of Iran, and bestowed on him 60,000 darbs, equal to 30,000 rupees, with a dress of honour. As an equivalent to the souvenir (yad-budi) that my brother Shah 'Abbas had sent to me, I forwarded with the aforesaid ambassador certain presents of jewelled things which the rulers of the Deccan had sent, with cloths and rare things of every kind fit for presentation, of the value of 100,000 rupees. Among these was a crystal cup that Chelebî (a curio-collector) had sent from 'Iraq. The Shah had seen this cup and said to the ambassador that if his brother (Jahangir) would drink wine out of it and send it to him, it would be a great mark of affection. When the ambassador represented this, having drunk wine several times out of the cup in his presence, I ordered them to make a lid and a saucer for it and sent it along with the presents. The lid was of enamel (mina-kiri)." (Vol. I, p. 374.)

Both the picture from the Boston museum, and the drawing from the Tagore collection (Plate II, fig. 1) are actually signed by the artist, his name being inscribed at the bottom near the decorated border (âmâl-Bishan Dâs, i.e. drawn by Bishan Dâs). Jahangir, who pretended to be a high class art-critic and a gentleman of consummate artistic taste, had a very high opinion

of Bishan Dâs; otherwise, he would not have selected him to represent the Indian Painters at Iran, knowing, as he did, that the patron of the famous school of Riza 'Abbasi must have had accomplished artists at his Court. Unfortunately, we have no record how the work of the Indian painter was estimated by the Court artists of Shah 'Abbas. Anyhow, the records of Jahangir himself are very flattering. "At the time when I sent Khan 'Alam to Persia, I had sent with him a painter of the name of Bishan Dâs who was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses, to take the portraits of the Shah and the chief men of his State and bring them. He had drawn the likenesses of most of them, and especially had taken that of my brother the Shah exceedingly well, so that when I showed it to any of his servants, they said it was exceedingly well drawn. Bishan Dâs was honoured with the gift of an elephant." (*Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 116-117.)

It is apparent from a comparison of the two illustrations that the one is not a copy of the other, as is very often the case with many duplicate miniatures of the Mughal school. Here we have different versions of the same incident. At the first glance, one is likely to take one of the pictures as the reversed copy of the other, the position of Shah 'Abbas and Khan 'Alam having been reversed; but if we consider the position of other figures in the group, we find that one could not have been a copy of the other, although two of the attendant figures, at least, are identical, viz., the retainer carrying the *hukka* and Sharem Khaji. A further variation is introduced in the background of the unfinished drawing by introducing a few armed soldiers—three retainers carrying hawks and a groom with a horse, which possibly suggest that Shah 'Abbas is about to go out on a hunt. Most probably the portraits of Shah 'Abbas and Khan 'Alam were based on one drawing which formed the nucleus and was afterwards worked out into two versions by arranging the attendant figures differently. There must have been some demands for copies of this picture at Delhi—Bishan Dâs must have had many commissions from courtiers of Jahangir anxious to



Tagore Collection
Calcutta.

Fig. 1.



Schulz Collection
Leipzig

Fig 2

secure copies or versions of the picture, not only because it represented a very interesting episode, but also because it was lucky in securing a Royal Prize.

In the well-known Schulz Collection in Leipzig, there is a very interesting miniature of the same episode, which we also reproduce here for the purpose of comparison (Plate II, fig. 2). It bears two important inscriptions: The first one, at the top, reads "Chhabi Shah Abbas Mazi-o-Khan Alam" (the portraits of Shah Abbas and Khan Alam) and suggests the subject of the picture... The second one, at the bottom, is of more importance, as it gives the name of the artist and reads "Awardai bandai bai khalash Khairat Khan" (brought by humble servant Khairat Khan). It is apparent that it is a representation of the same historical episode by another artist named Khairat Khan. As Jahangir does not mention him in his memoirs in connection with the episode, probably he did not come from India, and we must take him to be a Persian artist probably connected with the Court of Shah Abbas. In the very useful List of Calligraphers and Artists given in Schulz's work (*Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, 1914, Text Band p. 199-200), the name of Khairat Khan is given under the artists of the time of Abbas I (p. 203). There is a somewhat similar miniature apparently by the same hand in the British Museum. So that, if Bishan Dās recorded the Indian version of the historical incident, Khairat Khan must have been the artist employed to immortalise the Persian version of the "story." Excepting the suggestion that Khairat Khan belonged to the time of Shah Abbas, no further particulars about the artist appear to be available. Anyhow, we

have a very interesting record of the relative merits of Persian and Indian Painting of the time, at least in the domain of portrait painting. Khairat Khan's performance is a very bald, flat and mechanical picture, devoid of any freshness of life about it. The subtle and sensitive draughtsmanship which is the glory of the Persian, and, indeed, of all Central Asian Schools, is missed in Khairat Khan's miniature. The Indian miniaturist, as exemplified in the two examples here reproduced, has given a lot of atmosphere and local colour, and numerous personal and peculiar details of his sitters in a delicate and elegant presentation caught with a keen and sensitive vision, which we wholly miss in the Persian version. The credit to the Indian artist is all the more when we consider that he was a casual visitor to a foreign country and unfamiliar to the surroundings of the Court of Shah Abbas, whereas Khairat Khan, apparently, was a man on the spot and had greater opportunities of study. Unless his greater familiarity had bred an insensitiveness to, if not a contempt for, well known scenes and personalities, one is at a loss to account for, in his version, the total lack of interest, not to speak of dignity and elegance in the representation of such an important historical episode. One is almost inclined to hazard the guess that Khairat Khan was not a local artist, but an inferior talent who probably accompanied Bishan Dās from India. And the inscription at the bottom of his picture would seem to support such an assumption. The words "brought by" could hardly have been used by a local artist, and would be an appropriate inscription from the pen of an artist who came from a country outside Persia and took the picture away as a memento of his visit.

IV.—THE HISTORY OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY.

By A. A. MACDONELL.

A STUDENT of the Vedas from the age of twenty, I have always been attracted by the history of Indian religion, because its development can be continuously traced for more than

3,000 years from its source in the *Rigveda* down to its present form in the India of to-day. A result of my earliest investigations in this subject was my *Vedic Mythology* published in 1897. Ten years

later, during my tour in India, when I visited practically all the archæological sites in the country, the study of the ancient monuments directed my attention to iconography as illustrating the evolution of the religions of India. Some years after my return to England, I accordingly published in the *Festschrift Windisch* (1914) an article on the *Development of Hindu Iconography*, followed by various supplementary papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The conclusions I there arrived at I propose to set forth in the pages of this Journal, because they are likely to interest many readers in India.

The gods of the *Rigveda*, whose number is there stated to be thirty-three, were for the most part personifications of natural phenomena, such as Sky, Earth, Sun, Dawn, Fire, Wind, though the connexion with their physical bases had in some cases become obscured. These deities were worshipped not in temples, but in the open air on a sacrificial ground, of which a detailed description is to be found in the *Brahma-samhita*. When the actual phenomenon before the eyes of the worshipper, such as Agni, was prayed to, any definite anthropomorphic image was out of the question, even in the case of the invisible Vâta (Wind), of whom a poet of the *Rigveda* says that 'one hears his roaring, but his form one does not see'; nor does the *Rigveda* contain any evidence of iconographic representation of any of the gods. Even Yâska, many centuries after the days of the Rishis, remarks (about 500 B.C.) in the *Nirukta*: "What is seen of the gods is not anthropomorphic at all." But even in the *Rigveda*, the gods were already conceived as having a human form, though only in a very shadowy way. Thus, Surya is invoked not only as the visible disc of the Sun, but as a vague divine power inherent in the concrete phenomenon seen in the sky. The *Rigveda*, indeed, contains many references of this kind to the physical appearance of the gods as resembling men. They are described as having head, face, mouth, cheeks, eyes, hair; shoulders, breasts, belly; arms, hands, fingers, and feet. These parts are, however, very often mentioned in a figurative sense only. Thus, by the tongues of Agni are meant his flames, and by the arms of Surya

his rays. The gods are conceived as one-headed and two-armed. Indra has one head and one mouth, Rudra one mouth and one tongue; and Savitr, Pusan, Indra and Rudra (the later Siva) have two arms. The two arms and hands are chiefly referred to as holding the weapon or implement distinctive of any deity; thus, those of Indra bear his bolt (*vajra*). Apart from the phenomena which they represented, the gods were only vaguely differentiated as personal figures in the imagination of the poets of the *Rigveda*. It is mainly by the weapons they wield on the animals drawing their cars that the individuality of the gods is distinguished. Even so late a work as the *Bṛhaddevata* expressly observes that a god is to be recognized in the *Rigveda* by his weapon (*âyudha*) or his vehicle (*vâhana*).

We have seen that neither evidence nor probability points to images of the gods having existed in the time of the *Rigveda*. We may infer that even Yâska (500 B.C.) was unacquainted with such images; for in discussing the characteristics of the gods, he makes no reference to representations of them. Divine images seem first to have been produced after his time, perhaps from B.C. 400 onwards. They were, at any rate, familiar to Patanjali in the second century B.C., and before that probably to Panini. In sculpture, the figure known all over India as the goddess Laksmi is represented repeatedly on the gateways of the Stupa at Sanchi in normal female form as an already well-established type: she is either sitting or standing on a lotus and holds a flower in each of her two hands, with two elephants pouring water over her. As regards numismatic evidence, we find the god Siva as a normal two-armed figure, already associated with a bull, a trident, and a skin, on a coin of the reign of Kadphises II, dating from about the middle of the first century of the Christian era.

In an archaic episode of the *Mahâbhârata*, the story of Nala, which probably dates from before our era, the gods still appear in normal human shape, for Nala on seeing them does not recognise their divine character, but has to be expressly told that they are gods. They are here described as differing from ordinary men solely by six

divine attributes, such as the absence of winking, which have nothing to do with the ordinary human figure. It is by these attributes alone that Damayanti endeavours to distinguish the gods from human beings.

Thus, literary, sculptural and numismatic evidence combines to indicate that down to the 1st century after Christ, the gods were regarded as purely anthropomorphic in shape.

Turning to post-Vedic literature, we are suddenly confronted with a new feature in the later parts of the *Mahabharata*, in the *Ramayana*, in the *Puranas*, and in classical Sanskrit works generally. Here we find the most important gods described as having four arms, and one of them four heads also. The same abnormality appears in early Hindu sculptures, remaining a divine characteristic in Hindu iconography ever afterwards. It is most conspicuous in the three great gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. All three have four arms, which hold the symbols distinctive of each. It is characteristic of Brahma to have four heads as well, and in literature he regularly bears the epithet "four-faced" (*catur-mukha*).¹ In his four hands he holds a spoon, a rosary, a waterpot, and a manuscript of the Veda as his distinctive symbols. Vishnu's characteristic epithet is "four-armed" (*catur-bhuja*),² and he is described as holding a wheel (*cakra*), a conch (*sankha*), a club (*gada*), and a lotus (*padma*), while on his breast he wears the *kaustubha* jewel. In sculpture he is four-armed, but regularly has one head only.³ Siva, who usually holds in his four hands a trident, a bow, a drum, and a club, has also one head only.⁴ Siva is the god of whom we have the earliest concrete representation with four arms.

The period at which this innovation was introduced into Indian art can be fixed within the limits of comparatively few years,

¹ This epithet is occasionally applied to Vishnu and Siva also, probably because these gods are associated with Brahma in the Trimurti.

² He is once called *catur-bhuja* in the *Bhagavadgita*, but the use of the epithet is so suspicious in the context that it is probably an interpolation.

³ On coins he seems occasionally to have five heads.

⁴ He occasionally appears with five heads in literature and sculpture.

because we are, in this case, fortunately able to rely not on conjectural literary chronology, but on the evidence of historical dates. On a coin of Kadphises II, dating from about A.D. 50, Siva still appears as a two-armed deity; but in the reigns of his successors Kaniska, Huviska, and Vasudeva, four-armed figures become common beside two-armed ones, which still continue to appear on coins till the end of the 2nd century. We are thus justified in saying that four-armed deities begin to appear on coins towards the end of the 1st century and became an established type by 200 A.D.

The first stage of the innovation in representing the gods was thus the addition of two extra arms. These were attached behind the natural arms at the back of the shoulders. When the four-armed type had once been established as characteristic of the gods, the number of arms gradually increased in Hindu iconography. Thus eight-armed figures occur as early as A.D. 600; and the rock-cut Kailasa Siva temple at Ellora, excavated in the 8th century, constitutes a veritable museum of many-armed images which date from that time. From the 8th century onwards, Vishnu occasionally has eight arms, and some of his Avatars more than four; thus Triyikrama appears with six and Narasimha with eight. Siva also has eight, and as a dancing figure sixteen arms. His son Skanda (Karttikeya) already distinguished by the epithet "six-faced" (*sad nana*) in the epic, is represented in later sculpture with six heads and twelve arms, seated on his *vahana*, the peacock.

Hindu deities appear in the Buddhist sculptures of Gandhara in human form only, perhaps because the many-armed and many-headed type had not yet been established in the early centuries of our era. But its influence made itself felt in the latest centuries of Mahayanist Buddhist sculpture in India. Thus, a figure of Avalokitesvara has been found at Udayagiri in Orissa with four arms, but only one head, another near Bodh Gaya in Behar with six arms, and a third at Kanheri, near Bombay, with eleven heads. This feature followed Mahayanist Buddhism from India into other countries. Thus, the goddess

Chun-t'i has sixteen arms in Chinese Buddhist temples. This abnormality does not appear to have ever been extended to Buddha himself anywhere, perhaps because his human character was never lost sight of and his image had early acquired a stereotyped form.

We have already noted that the Vedic gods lacked individuality, but that there were two means by which the early Indian artist could, when he proceeded to represent them iconographically, differentiate them and enable them to be identified. One of these means was the addition of the *vâhana*, or animal that conveyed the deity: the elephant of Indra, the seven steeds of Surya, the crocodile (*makara*) of Ganiga, the tortoise (*kurma*) of Yamuna, and similarly the two elephants that accompany Laksmi. It is noteworthy that in all these cases the deity has only one head and only two arms; for the *vâhana* serves both to indicate the divine nature and the identity of the image. In mediæval times, the *vâhana* was often dispensed with, the figure of the god having by this time become sufficiently conventionalized to be recognizable even without it. Thus, Surya appears, without his seven steeds, as a standing figure holding a large lotus in each of his two hands. Again, modern Indian artists often depict Laksmi without her elephants, as a figure rising from the ocean, but in this case with four arms.

The idea of introducing *vâhanas* into Indian sculpture as a mark of identification was not a new one, for it is traceable to the *Rigveda*, where the cars of the gods, though generally drawn by horses, are also described as yoked with various other animals, such as the antelopes of the Maruts and the goats of Pusan. A list of ten such animals is given in the Nighantu and repeated in the *Brhaddevata*. The post-Vedic *vâhanas* are, however, not the same, except the seven steeds of Surya. They often appear in early Indian sculpture, and are common in the Kailasa temple at Ellora. Among the new divine *vâhanas* are the elephant (*airâvata*) of Indra and the bull (*nandi*) of Siva. The latter occurs on a coin beside a figure of Siva as early as the first century of our era.

The second way of distinguishing a god was by his weapon; for instance, Indra by his *vajra*, Vishnu by his *cakra*, and Siva by his *trisula*. The latter emblem, held in his hand by Siva, appears on a coin of the 1st century after Christ. Originally, a single weapon was sufficient for the identification of a god, as we see in the case of the coin just mentioned. But the number of symbols distinctive of a god gradually increased in course of time, as is evident from later sculptures, to four and even a good many more. Thus no fewer than ten weapons and symbols are attributed to Mahâganapati, a modern form of Ganesa; these would naturally require ten arms to hold them.

The lack of individuality in the Vedic gods rendered it difficult to differentiate them iconographically. When the ancient Indian artist found it necessary to represent a deity without his *vâhana*, how was he to meet this difficulty, supposing the two hands of the god were to be employed in some kind of action or gesture, and could not, therefore, hold any symbol of identification? The addition of two extra arms might easily occur to him as an expedient, for this is obviously their purpose in Hindu iconography. The addition would, moreover, be no new idea, but only a suggestion derived from Vedic mythology. Though the gods are normally conceived in the *Rigveda* as one-headed and two-armed, they are yet now and then referred to figuratively as having an abnormal number of heads and arms. Thus, Agni is three-headed (as the sacrificial fire burning on three altars) and has seven hands (in allusion to his flames), Varuna is four-faced (*catur-anika*), and Visvakarma is four-armed (*visvatobahu*). The idea would thus readily present itself of adding to the figure of a god two more arms to hold the symbol or symbols by which he could be identified, when the two natural hands were otherwise engaged. This explanation is strongly corroborated by the fact, observable in innumerable examples,¹ that when

¹ See the illustrations in Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*, Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, and H. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*.

gesture or action is to be represented, this is always done by the natural hands, while the additional arms rising from the back of the shoulders hold up the distinctive symbols of the god, generally in quite an obtrusive manner. This peculiarity has persisted from the earliest times down to the present day. Though exceptions to this rule might be expected to occur among the complex and confused phenomena of modern iconography, I have been unable to discover such exceptions even there. My explanation is further supported by the fact that, when in early iconography a god is accompanied by his *vâhanâ*, he is two-armed, because additional hands are then not necessary for identification. It is only later, when all kinds of combinations take place, that a four-armed figure may appear along with the *vâhana*. The further divine characteristic of having four heads was added in the case of Brahma because his Vedic prototype Visvakarma is in the *Rigveda* spoken of as "facing in all directions" (*visvatomukha*) and in post-Vedic literature as "four-faced" (*caturmukha*). Hence, in sculpture Brahma always appears with four heads as well as four arms. In the case of Vishnu and Siva the need of four arms was the same; but in early iconography these two deities are represented with one head only because a plurality was in these cases suggested neither by practical considerations nor by any Vedic allusion.

When the possession of a plurality of arms and heads had established itself as an exclusively superhuman attribute, it spread from the important deities to others, and the number of arms rapidly increased from four to six, eight, ten, twelve, sixteen, and twenty in sculpture, and even to 32 and 50 in literature. The number of heads also to some extent increased, being, in the case of the demon Ravana, no fewer than ten.

As an indication of relative age, the number of arms and heads in mediæval and modern Hindu iconography offers in itself little or no evidence, because earlier forms tend to persist beside later ones.

It may be useful now to summarise the conclusions at which I have arrived in this paper.

There is no evidence to show that the gods were iconographically represented in

the earliest Vedic period, nor does the character of the religion of that age lend any support to such a supposition.

There is, however, both literary and sculptural evidence of the existence of anthropomorphic images of gods in the latest Vedic period, from perhaps as early as the 4th century B.C.

Representations of Hindu gods begin to appear on dated Indian coins on which they are depicted about A.D. 50 in normal human form with two arms and one head. By about A.D. 100 four-armed gods begin to appear on them beside two-armed forms. The four-armed type had established itself by about A.D. 200, though the earliest dated sculptural image of Siva (A.D. 458) is still two-armed. Owing to the uncertainty of Indian literary chronology, it is impossible to state at what date many-armed gods are first mentioned in Sanskrit literature.

When the possession of four arms (and four heads) had established itself as a divine characteristic, the number of arms (and heads) began to be increased, so that eight-armed and twelve-armed images are to be found as far back as the 6th century after Christ.

The addition of two extra arms was originally an expedient for displaying the symbols of identification when the natural hands were otherwise engaged.

The main lesson I would derive from the study of Hindu iconography is that it must be investigated historically from its first beginnings downwards on the basis of concrete datable evidence, not on that of *à priori* argument and uncertain literary chronology. The guiding principle in the development of early types can then be traced, as with a red thread, through the confusing mass of modern details. To begin at the lower end can only involve the student in hopeless bewilderment due to the great number of modifications which single original forms have undergone. Thus, of the one god Ganesa alone no fewer than thirty-two forms have been distinguished at the present day, to say nothing of the vast mass of details clustering around those distinctions.

V.—A PORTRAIT OF A COURT LADY FROM HYDERABAD.

BEFORE an adequate survey of the typical masterpieces of the Mughal School has been accomplished, it is perhaps unfair to the merits of the Mughal School to turn one's attention to its minor branches or derivative schools which came into existence in many Hindu and Mahomedan courts in different parts of India shortly after the disruption of the Mughal Empire of Delhi. But now and then interesting examples of these derivative schools crop up, which demand attention by virtue of the interesting sidelights that they throw on the vitality of the traditions established by the patronage of the Mughal Emperors. They appear to have survived long after the actual termination of the Mughal dynasty of Delhi. With the waning of the power and glory of the Delhi court, the court artists, who had flourished under munificent patronage, had to take refuge in the various courts and sultanates which began to push their heads during the early part of the eighteenth century. Many must have fled to the courts of Adilshahis, as is evidenced by some very fine portraits of the Sultans of this dynasty which have recently come to light. Some very interesting evidence has also come to light that many good portrait painters must have been found in the then newly established dynasty of the Nizam, in 1724, with Hyderabad as its headquarters. Mahammad Shah, the last reigning King at Delhi (1719—1748), had for his Vizir one Asaf Jah (Chin Kilich Khan). In 1722 the Vizir retired to the Deccan, and founded the existing dynasty of the Nizam. He must have taken with him some of the fashions of the Mughal Court, and most probably some painters. The works of these painters, almost exclusively confined to portraits, sometimes show certain strength and distinctive qualities which are a little unexpected from the dying embers and decadence of Mughal traditions. Our colour plate opposite, reproduced from the collection of Mr. Gagonendra Nath Tagore, Calcutta, is an interesting little portrait of a court lady, which comes from Hyderabad.

The size of the original is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. We have one or two more examples of powerful portraiture coming from Hyderabad, which seem to point to the existence of a continual practice of portraiture which hardly yet deserve to be called a "school." That our example belongs to the period later than Aurangzib is evident from the indication in the picture itself. About the time of Aurangzib, the portrait painters came to start a peculiar practice of suggesting the sky at the top of the picture by drawing a series of flying cranes or birds. This became a stereotyped symbol for the atmosphere of the sky, which as often as not was painted with a blue wash at the top. In many portraits of the time of Aurangzib this device is very skilfully resorted to, sometimes with pretty effect. The practice became very crude after the time of Aurangzib. The presence of the device in our illustration proves it to be a post-Mughal work. There are other indications which confirm the date of the picture. The treatment of the garden and the drapery show a distinct lowering of taste and judgment. The dress is treated in gold throughout, which unfortunately is not rendered in its true value in the flat ochre tone of the colour plate. It rather spoils the beautiful contrast which the use of the gold furnishes to the colour of the face in the original. The finely drawn face with its delicate modelling is undoubtedly the glory of the picture and its chief claim for our consideration. A freedom from stiffness and an unconventionality of representation distinguish the portrait from similar Mughal subjects. It is said that the strict purdah observed in the Mughal harem made it impossible for the court artists to draw living likenesses of the beauties of the Mughal queens and princesses and they invariably drew on their imagination in rendering the portraits of ladies. There is no doubt, however, that the present picture is an authentic likeness and not an imaginary portrait. The part of the "sâri" which goes over the head seems rather to suggest a Hindu fashion. The sandals also bespeak



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that its wearer is a Hindu, for, as a rule, the Mahomedan ladies are represented with slippers. The gold belt still affected by the dancing girls of the south and the tiny bells round the ankles at the feet seem to make out a Hindu danseuse rather than a court lady as suggested by the owner of the picture. The lady holds in her hand a "pândân," and the profuseness of the jewelleries help to enhance the effect of a prettily drawn face with very bold and clear-cut features. It is, indeed, rare to meet in post-Mughal work portraits of such strength and charm. There is a very interesting Persian verse inscribed on the back of the picture in care-

fully written "nasta'liq" character, which runs thus: "Im râuz mubarakasht falum k'uftad nazar bâran jamalum Al hamdo Khuda-i-asmara kâ'khtar badar amud-uz-z ualam" ("my luck is good to-day, since my eyes fell on that Beauty! Praise be to God of Heaven, since the star has come out of decline and is again resplendent!") The verse, therefore, makes clear allusion to the subject of the portrait who must have been regarded as one of the beauties of her time. In the Persian verse one may find a very interesting echo of the well-known lines of the Maithil poet, Vidyapati.

VI.—MEDITATIONS ON ART IN GENERAL AND A JAPANESE ARTIST IN PARTICULAR.

By JAMES H. COUSINS.

MR. Tami Koumé was born in Japan, and paints in Japan; but if in his hearing you unfortunately refer to him as "a Japanese artist," he will, in the most delightfully Japanese manner, say, "I am not a *Japanese* artist," and having spitted you on the sharp end of paradox, will help you comfortably back to comprehension by adding, "I am an *artist*." Whereupon vast chasms of disquisition open up at your feet, with hours of warming of fingers round a firebox, and much turning of charcoal with steel chopsticks by way of punctuation of the march of conversation towards some degree of understanding as to the distinction in a Japanese artist's mind between the Japanese in him and the artist.

The first step is a demand for a definition on your part,—“What is art?” That is the inquisitive, analytical, western metaphysician's way. But Mr. Koumé, being a Japanese, if he is not a Japanese artist, is not a metaphysician, at any rate in the Western sense; and annihilates your question by taking a leaf out of his Irish interviewer's book, and answering the question by asking another—"What is an artist?" Which brings you down to fundamentals.

"Art" can be anything it chooses according to the mood of the moment—an

intellectual spider's web to catch, if their destiny willeth, some few flies of truth, and, incidentally, a great deal of dust. But the artist is another matter—a living thing, not a system, and most truly an artist when least conscious of the fact; for self-consciousness holds a little lamp close to the eye and obscures the vision of both the outer sun and the inner. "When we are aware," Mr. Koumé remarks, with a touch of critical sharpness, "that we are 'painting by inner need,' we are not painting by inner need." Immediacy of contact with the pulsating mystery just behind the artist's inspiration is lost, and mere craftsmanship, which is the offspring of muscular memory in an individual or a race, supervenes. "When vision is clear and possessing," Mr. Koumé adds, "inspiration is breathless and has no space for introspection. When spirit speaks to spirit, the machinery of tradition is inadequate."

Through phrases such as these one catches a glimpse of the reason why Mr. Koumé, though counted among the best of modern artists in Japan, denies the impeachment of being a *Japanese* artist. A *Japanese painter* if you like, but *artist*, no! For he says, "When I stood on the summit of pure spiritual vision, I was an artist, not a painter, a poet without a song." Vision,

therefore, springs from a deeper source than the point of the brush; it belongs to the immortal artist within. The restrictions of personality, and with them the larger, but no less close, restrictions of nationality, must go, if creation is to have full play. The mask and the flag are in the retinue of the half gods, and these are not creators but creatures. God alone is creator, and when God arrives in the flaming chariot of vision, the little stars of personality which flourish in darkness are lost in light.

Naturally Mr. Koumé is not the property of any school. The schools belong to him. He is master of the craft of all of them, with, perhaps, the exception of the modern Bengal school. A few years ago, he painted a celebrated dancer in London with the deliberation and particularity of the classicists, and with a chastity only possible to an Oriental. A few weeks ago, with a big full brush of Indian Ink, he put the very genius of the Japanese Nohdrama into almost one cyclopean line, in the doing of which the twitching of a nerve would have ruined a gold screen worth a small fortune. This morning, a face seen in a moment of abstraction threatened such speedy return behind the curtain of vision that there was no time for the machinery of portraiture, and the pigment was literally thrown on the canvas with naked fingers. At intervals he is painting a portrait of his *dead* mother *from life*—a dark saying to those who labour under the stultifying illusion that God has given humanity only two eyes, and one world.

As we talk over these things and their implications in the rich twilight of his studio in the suburbs of Tokyo (the level afternoon sunlight touching radiantly a plumtree in full pink blossom outside his porch, though snow has not long left the ground), one soon begins to feel that, in this artist's passage through a series of technical sloughings, there is being set free an instrument of peculiar power and sensitiveness for the purposes of art and its revolution. Progress comes through the breaking of bounds, and Mr. Koumé has been by turns classicist, impressionist, futurist. But the preoccupations of technique do not satisfy him. He is the inheritor by race of perfect skill

exerted with perfect ease, the characteristic of Greek art in its decline, as it is of traditional Japanese art just now at the possible birth of its renaissance. But just because he can do with ease all that the specialists of the cults do individually with labour, he throws method after method aside in his search for some circumference of difficulty against which he may press in the hope of finding a fissure opening towards the Light. This is not the fidgeting of a dilettante, for there is a strong calmness in all Mr. Koumé's work; it is the stirring of something indicative of the new world on whose frontiers art in general is moving with confusion and uncertainty, the spiritual realm. From the art of the eye through the art of emotion to the art of thought the creative urge has found its way with many waverings and circumlocutions, and to-day it breaks with frustration and hope against dim bastions crowded with shadowy shapes.

Mr. Koumé's work epitomises the general progression. His early painting is solid, physical, full-bodied. The Japanese eye and hand, wielding the method of Europe, link two great traditions. He escapes the domination of emotion of the highly-coloured kind just because of his racial heritage of reserve in feeling. But, if he does not feel aloud in his paintings, if he does not use his palette for the manufacture of coloured teardrops, he transmutes the joy and struggle of the artist into an all-pervading earnestness that makes his paintings feel as if they were but variations of a central theme that might be named *Hic jacet*. They are not perfect accomplishments, and therefore dead. They are the shards of the artist's own blossoming, jovial gravestones smiling resurrection.

The true artist dies in his work. He lives only in his failure to reduce his dream to the level of achievement. It is in the *struggle* for artistic existence that the artist exists. He must forever strain towards accomplishment, and forever evade it. If he cannot honestly call his greatest success a failure, it is a failure indeed. He does not measure his artistic progress by any reduction of the distance between his dream and his level of attainment, but by the height that his grasp on the hem of his flying ideal has

lifted him out of the mirage of actuality and borne him toward the radiant simplicities that culminate in the lone peak of spiritual realisation, the Fujiyama of the soul, where art leaves its easel and takes to its knees.

Mr. Koumé is not afraid of this consummation. He has glimpsed it, and understands. "Through my art I ascend a step of the eternal staircase, but," he adds with a wistfulness that is mixed with a secret joy, "there is another." Indeed, it is his doctrine that art's highest function is the transcendence of art. "True art has neither composition nor colour nor canvas: these are the inventions of artists."

The evolutionary urge to which Mr. Koumé is exceptionally responsive, and which carried him across the emotional realm, did not set him down for long among the fluctuating images of the mind. "Truth and reality, these are what I want," he cried; not a multiplicity of truths, for the collection of truths is the business of one intent on stocking a museum of error; not the false "reality" that focusses its hard sight on "the thing itself"—but the vision that goes towards the veritable self of the thing, the truth that can no more be imprisoned in a dogma than sunlight can be caught between the hands. Hence he did not remain long among the *bizarre* in art. In "The Mystery" he is a momentary Japanese Beardsley of a sort, moving away from the conventional and normal, not to the abnormal which is the refuge of the artist who is artist from eye and hand outwards, but towards the extra-normal wherein are the springs of inspiration, the rivers of living water that turn the millwheels of human effort. From an extension of consciousness in this direction comes, in any form of art, a greater transparency together with a greater involvement of significance. Emotional and mental art may say a great deal and manage to mean very little; but mystical art, that is, art whose eyes are open to the mystery of the universe, means much, even in its silences and empty spaces.

Art is moving towards this phase. It can never remain satisfied with outer perfections. Whatever be its formulæ and methods, they are secretly shaped by the unshapen tradition of the future, and only

use the past for the future's purpose. The great moments in an artist's career are the moments of his perfect yielding, wittingly, or unwittingly, to the truth that in art, what truly is, is so only in so far as it is the child of what is to be. Nay, more truly, in the moments of inspiration, the level smoulder of life is whirled by an invisible cyclonic hand into a perpendicular flame whose point of radiance rises above the historical illusions of past and future. The exactions of the low levels, which refract and discolour the true light, are surmounted. "We shall only see clearly when we look over the head of our habitual eyesight," Mr. Koumé declares. This ascent means release from the tyranny of detail; it means wider view, deeper generalisation, the emergence of the simplicity of greatness, an approach to the Divine disinterestedness. In such a moment, Francis Thompson sang:

One grass-blade in its veins
Wisdom's whole flood contains.
Thereon my foundering mind
Odyssean fate can find.....

..... Epitomised in thee
Was the mystery
Which shakes the spheres conjoint—
God focussed to a point.

And in such a moment, Tami Koumé, lifted out of tradition, made the grand discovery "We are *living*! Art should show forth the purity of the moment in which we reach this majestic truth."

At this point in the history of art and the artist, only symbolism avails—that is to say, a method of indication rather than of representation. But it must be a living symbolism, some vital distillation out of the muddy and turbid waters of life that will help us towards a realisation of the pure spring from which those waters have descended to our level, and touch us with the nostalgia of the soul which is the supreme test of art. Little art chains us to actuality, but great art is "full of whispers and of shadows." It is the great Reminder, nudging us to recollection of a throne vacated somewhere, sometime, somehow, but mixing with its reminder a prophetic hint of what will be when the wheel has come full circle.

The solid symbolism of Watts, or the liquid symbolism of Whistler, help us on the

way but a little, for the challenge of the symbol in the hands of either artist is so powerful to eye and sense that it mainly draws our attention to the fact that x means one thing and y another, and tends to hold us from the adventuring leap across the gulf between the symbol and the thing signified. Moreover, the art that is only coloured algebra, as in the case of much of Watts' work, or geometry in a state of revolt and full of new wine, as is most of the cubist and futurist art, leaves us in the merely cold admiration of the brain, unless somehow, in spite of itself, it lets slip the secret that "in the Celestial all things are persons." Mr. Koumé has spied the secret, and is burning to tell it. He wants to limn one feature of the Divine physiognomy that he calls Struggle. He does not paint a man struggling, but throws together the instruments of struggle (clenched hands and straining shoulders and hastening feet) in a design that is as a tightening hand on the strings of the imagination.

Art, through the immortality of its masterpieces, has rivetted mortality on its

own limbs, holding them to the bondage of things seen. But the day of the opening of its inner eyes to the things unseen is at hand. At times in its history, chafing at its chains, it has attempted with its left hand to pull down the work of its right hand, but has only managed to give its chain a new name, and to blind itself against the truth that, when Alexander got to the edge of the world of power, and had all outer things under his feet, he had come to the threshold of his toughest adventure, the storming of the little postern of his own inner kingdom.

To-day, while art is searching for other worlds to conquer, and looking along the level surface of the earth for its kingdom, the other worlds are seeking to conquer art. Here and there they have found vulnerable points in the rampart of human ignorance, in the poetry and painting of AE in Ireland, in the paintings of Wooler and the music of Foulds in London, distantly in the painters of Bengal, almost face to face in Tami Koumé, who in the suburbs of Tokyo, nurses the dream—"One day I shall express the pure negociation of spirit with spirit."

VII.—SOME NOTES ON HINDU EROTICS.

By KANNOOMAL.

IN no other country has the feeling of Love been so minutely observed, studied, analysed, classified and elaborated into an exalted science as in India. Its whole domain has been assiduously and patiently explored, its innermost recesses have been opened up and ransacked, its most hidden secrets wrung out and displayed to the public gaze. The erotic sentiment has, in India, formed the background of illumination to all its poetical, dramatic and rhetorical literature; and it is under its mild, soft and inspiring light that the most exquisite productions of Hindu literature have bloomed into their splendour. All the beauties of the fine arts of India are so many, variegated, and myriad-tinted prisms to reflect the soft, subtle and gentle rays of Love's far-off radiance behind them.

It is on the wings of Love that the genius of the poet has soared to the loftiest and sublimest heights of imagination; it is under the

inspiration of Love that the painter's brush has painted its masterpieces; it is under the magic-wand of Love that the sculptor has conjured up most delicate fancies into marble; it is under the soft whisperings of Love that the musician and the singer have put forth their soul-stirring melodies and rapturous love-songs; it is under the subtle direction of Love that the architect has reared up his most magnificent and lofty edifices in stone. The whole secular civilisation of India bears, on its forehead, the most vivid impressions of Love's hallmark.

The starting word in Hindu Rhetorics is Bhâva, which primarily means existence or being, then a state or condition of mind, and finally a realisation of the emotional states, such as pleasure, pain, etc. In its last aspect it is a feeling. Feelings are primarily divided into nine "permanent states," called Sthâyi bhâva. These are:—Love (Rati), Energy (Utsâha), Disgust (Jugupsâ), Anger



SWAD HINAPATIKA
Tagore Collection, Calcutta

(Krodha), Mirth (Hasai), Astonishment (Vismaya), Fear (Bhaya), Sorrow (Soka), and Tranquillity (Sama).

Each of these states fructifies into a highly enjoyable sentiment (rasa) peculiar to it, by the operation of certain fundamental (âlamban) and excitant (uddipan) causes or determinants, external indications (anubhâva), involuntary states (sâttvik bhâva) and transitory states (vyabhichâri bhâva).

The nine sentiments thus developed and manifested, having for their substrata the above-mentioned permanent feelings in due order, are the Erotic sentiment (Sringâr rasa), the Heroic sentiment (Vira rasa), the Odious sentiment (Vibhatsa rasa), the Furious sentiment (Raudra rasa), the Comic sentiment (Hâsyâ rasa), the Marvellous sentiment (Adbhut rasa), the Terrible sentiment (Bhayânak rasa), the Pathetic sentiment (Karuna rasa), and the Tranquil sentiment (Sânti rasa).

The fundamental cause or determinant (âlamban vibhâva) constitutes, as it were, the receptacle of a permanent state, such as a person or a thing. The person may be a man or a woman, respectively called Nâyaka and Nâyikâ. Both of these will be described at length further on.

The excitant cause or determinant (uddipan vibhâva) excites and inflames a permanent state. They are many. They refer to an infinite variety of environments suitable to each sentiment.

External indications of the abiding inward feeling, called Anubhava, are 28 in number, and are of three kinds, viz., physical, natural, and dispositional. The physical indications are—amorous feeling (Bhâva), coquettish gesture calculated to excite amorous sensation (Hâva), and amorous sport or dalliance (Hela).

The seven natural indications are—Beauty (Sobhâ), Loveliness (Kânti), Radiance (Dipti), Sweetness (Mâdhurya), Courage (Pragalbhatâ), Dignity (Audârya), and Self-control (Dhairya).

The eighteen indications arising from the disposition are:—

Sportiveness (lilâ); coquetry (vilâs); tastefulness (vicchitti)—an arrangement of adornment so as to enhance loveliness; confusion (vibhrama)—a misplacement of

ornaments in haste; hysterical mood (kila kinchit)—a combination of anger, weeping, joy, fear, etc.; manifestation of affection (mottâyita)—a silent involuntary expression of affection towards one's absent lover, such as scratching the ear, etc., when the lover's name is mentioned; pretended anger (kuttamilâ)—an affected repulse of one's lover's endearments or caress; affected indifference (bibhoka) towards the lover through haughtiness; gracefulness of pose or lolling (lalita); bashfulness (vridâ),—abstaining from speaking, out of modesty, when there is an opportunity; ardent passion or infatuity (mada); love-anguishes (tapan); artlessness or simplicity (maugdhyâ); curiosity (kutuhalâ); distraction or confusion of mind (vikshaipa); laughter or mirth (hasata); sensation of being startled (chakita); amorous sportiveness (kaili).

Of the above eighteen external indications, only the first ten are given in Dasarupa; the full number is given and explained in Sâhityadarpana.

The involuntary states or feelings (Sâttvik bhâva) arise of their own accord. They cannot be commanded at will. They are eight: viz., Immobility of Body or Momentary Paralysis (Stambha); Loss of consciousness or fainting (Pralaya); Horripilation (Româncha); Sweating (Sveda); Change of Colour (Vaivaranya); Trembling (Vepathu); Weeping (Asru); and Change of Voice (Vaisvarya).

The transitory states or momentary feelings arise along with the development of the permanent states or feelings. They are subordinate feelings which go in co-operation or clash with the permanent feelings according to their compatibility or incompatibility with them. They are either Sanchâri—going in co-operation—or Vyabhichâri—going in conflict—with the principal feeling produced and excited. They are thirty-three in number, as given below:—

Self-disparagement or Humiliation (Nirveda); Exhaustion (Glâni); Apprehension (Sankâ); Weariness (Srama); Contentment (Bhriti); Stupor (Jadatâ); Joy (Harsa); Depression (Dainya); Cruelty (Ugratâ); Anxiety (Chintâ); Fright (Trâsa); Envy (Asuyâ); Indignation



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The eighteen indications arising from the disposition are:—

Sportiveness (lilâ); coquetry (vilâs); tastefulness (vicchitti)—an arrangement of adornment so as to enhance loveliness; confusion (vibhrama)—a misplacement of

ornaments in haste; hysterical mood (kila kinchit)—a combination of anger, weeping, joy, fear, etc.; manifestation of affection (mottâyita)—a silent involuntary expression of affection towards one's absent lover, such as scratching the ear, etc., when the lover's name is mentioned; pretended anger (kuttamilâ)—an affected repulse of one's lover's endearments or caress; affected indifference (bibhoka) towards the lover through haughtiness; gracefulness of pose or lolling (lalita); bashfulness (vridâ),—abstaining from speaking, out of modesty, when there is an opportunity; ardent passion or infatuity (mada); love-anguishes (tapan); artlessness or simplicity (maugdhyâ); curiosity (kutihala); distraction or confusion of mind (vikshaipa); laughter or mirth (hasata); sensation of being startled (chakita); amorous sportiveness (kaili).

Of the above eighteen external indications, only the first ten are given in Dasarupa; the full number is given and explained in Sâhityadarpana.

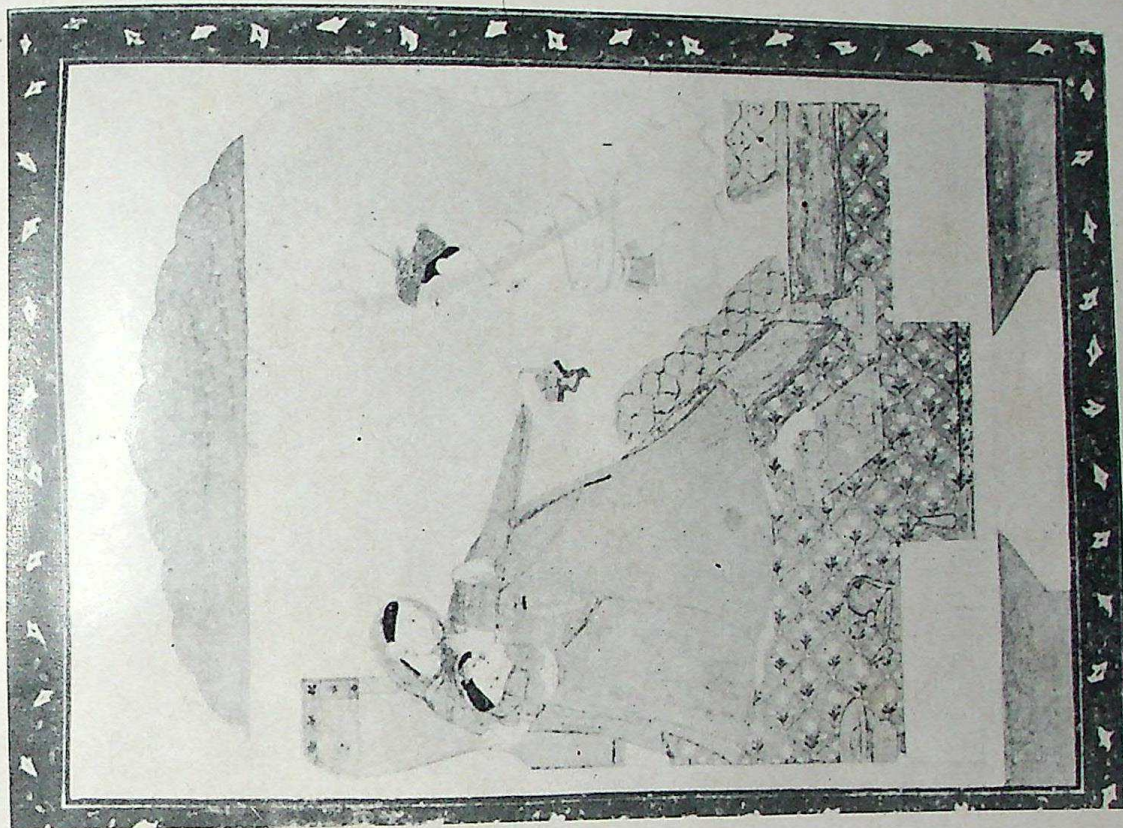
The involuntary states or feelings (Sâttvik bhâva) arise of their own accord. They cannot be commanded at will. They are eight: viz., Immobility of Body or Momentary Paralysis (Stambha); Loss of consciousness or fainting (Pralaya); Horripilation (Româncha); Sweating (Sveda); Change of Colour (Vaivarnya); Trembling (Vepathu); Weeping (Asru); and Change of Voice (Vaisvarya).

The transitory states or momentary feelings arise along with the development of the permanent states or feelings. They are subordinate feelings which go in co-operation or clash with the permanent feelings according to their compatibility or incompatibility with them. They are either Sanchâri—going in co-operation—or Vyabhichâri—going in conflict—with the principal feeling produced and excited. They are thirty-three in number, as given below:—

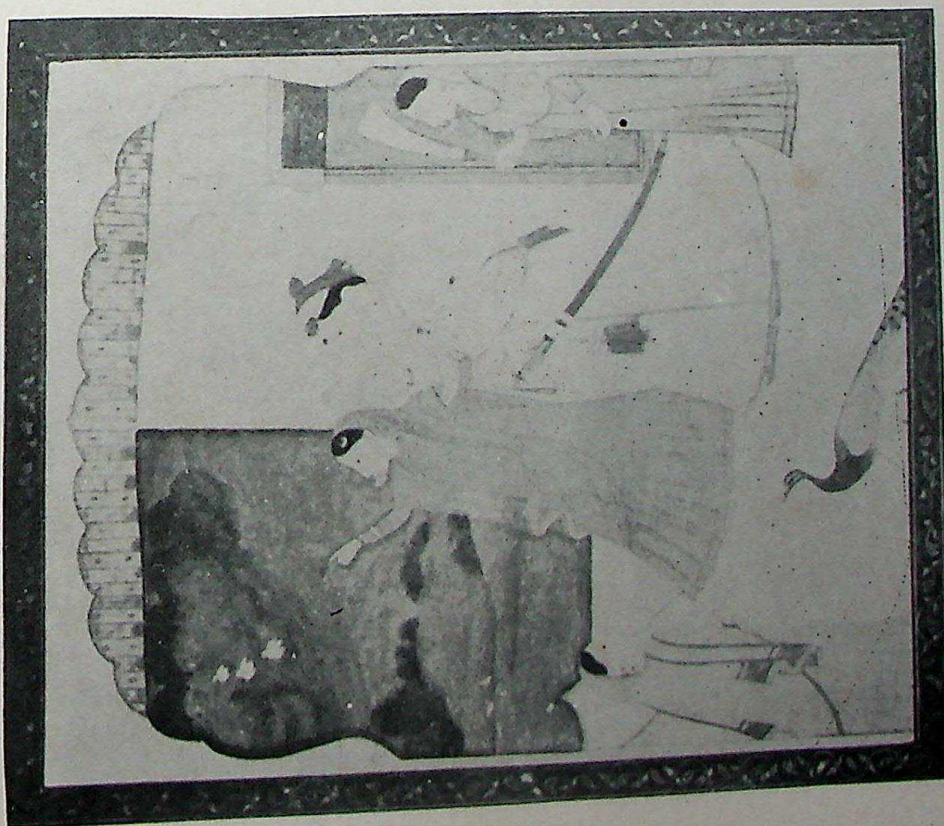
Self-disparagement or Humiliation (Nirveda); Exhaustion (Glâni); Apprehension (Sankâ); Weariness (Srama); Contentment (Bhriti); Stupor (Jadatâ); Joy (Harsa); Depression (Dainya); Cruelty (Ugratâ); Anxiety (Chintâ); Fright (Trâsa); Envy (Asuyâ); Indignation

Affected resentment (mâna) arises either when the two lovers, in their state of extreme fondness, are determined to be angry, or when the beloved female, hearing, seeing or inferring of her lover's devotion to another, is in a state of jealousy. The remedy for this latter kind of resentment lies in the adoption of the following six expedients; viz., Conciliation (Saman); Dissension

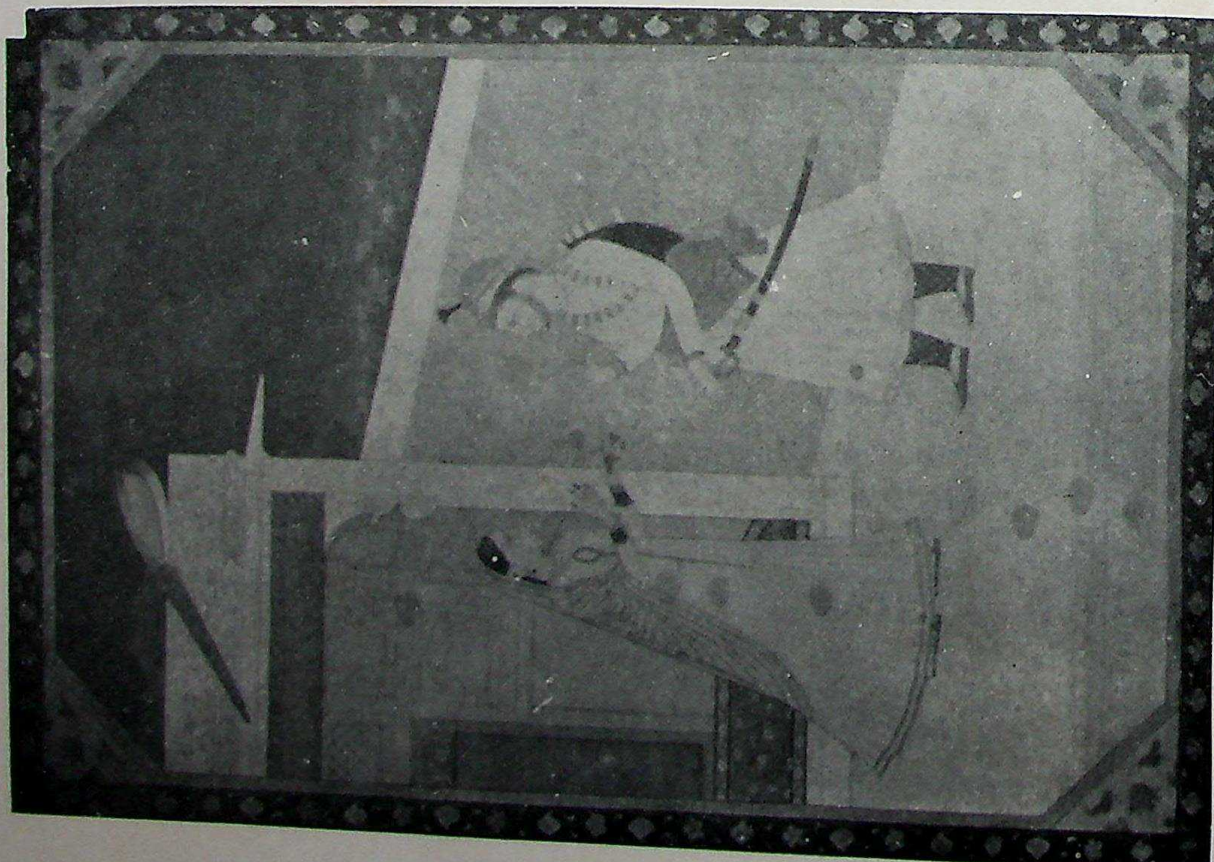
That these states are not fanciful and drawn out of the imagination of the Hindu



Nabodha
Fig 2



Sambhoga
Fig 1



Agata bhartrika
Fig 1



Abhisarika
Fig 2

(Bheda); Offering of presents (Dana); Humility (Nati); Indifference (Upekshâ); and Diversion of the feeling (Rasântara).

The absence of a lover in a different place may occur owing to business, civil disorder, or a curse.

The characteristics of this state of separation are weeping, sighing, emaciation, dishevelment of hair, etc.

The third kind of the erotic sentiment is the union of the two lovers in the delightful enjoyment of each other's company. In this state, the inward feeling of the inamorata is manifested by the eighteen dispositional indications already enumerated. The lover, in this state, should use flattering words and cause the beloved's pleasure by means of various arts, amorous sports, etc., but he should avoid doing anything vulgar or any act such as would disturb her good humour.

Under the influence of love, the inamoratas stand in different moods or relations towards their lovers and thus fall into numerous varieties, but the principal varieties prescribed by the standard authorities on the subject are eight, or ten. The tenfold classification adopted in the Sâhitya-darpana is as follows:—

1. Prositpatikâ—one whose lover is in a distant land on business. This mood occurs in separation (viprayoga) arising from the absence (pravâsa) of one's lover.

2. Khanditâ—one who is filled with jealousy on discovering her lover's devotion to another woman. This mood arises in separation (viprayoga) owing to resentment arising from jealousy.

3. Kalahântaritâ—one who suffers remorse after she has repulsed her lover in indignation.

4. Vipralabdhâ—one who is offended at her lover not coming to the place of trysting.

The above two moods occur in the same kind of separation as described in the case of Khanditâ.

5. Virahotkanthitâ Utkanthitâ or Utkâ—one who is distressed at her lover's absence without his fault.

This mood is characteristic of "ayoga"—privation or separation (viprayoga) due to resentment in a state of fondness.

6. Vâsakasajjâ—one who has adorned

herself and made all necessary arrangements in expectation of her lover's arrival.

7. Swâdhinapatikâ—one who has her lover in subjection. [Colour Plate.]

8. Abhisârikâ—one who, lovesick, goes out to her lover or makes him come to her. [Plate II, fig. 2.]

9. Pravatsyat-Prajyâsi (Prosyatpatikâ)—one whose lover is about to go on a journey and to part with her.

10. Agatabhartrikâ—one whose lover has returned from a distant country.

These characterisations of female lovers have formed apt themes of the poet's pen and the painter's brush, of which there is an abundant evidence in the art galleries and poetic literature of India. In the accompanying plates are illustrated the following types of heroines (lovers): Prositapatikâ (Plate III, fig. 2), Abhisarikâ (Plate II, fig. 2), Agatabhartrikâ (Plate II, fig. 1). Some of the other types are illustrated in the plate accompanying Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on The Eight Nâyikâs (*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, No. 128).

The circumstances that excite and enhance the erotic sentiment (uddipanbhâva), are too numerous to be described, but a few prominent ones may be summarised as follows:—

1. Personal decorations consisting of fine garments and beautiful ornaments and constituents of a woman's toilet.

2. Confidantes and companions that aid in love affairs. They have been variously classified with regard to their capacities and classifications.

3. The six seasons with their attendant objects of pleasures.

4. Natural phenomena, such as the moonlight, the moon, the stars, etc., etc.

5. Romantic scenery consisting of beautiful landscapes, fine bowers, rippling streams, lovely lakes, etc.

6. Beautiful birds, such as the Indian peacock, köel, swans, etc., and their sweet warblings.

7. Flowers emitting sweet fragrance and looking beautiful in their variegated colours.

8. Various scents and perfumes and cooling and aromatic things, such as sandal-wood, etc.

9. Music and singing.

10. Other objects of pleasure and evocative of fine feeling, such as paintings, things of art, etc., etc.

The fundamental cause (âlamban vibhâva) of the erotic sentiment is the most important of all the divisions of this feeling. It is the basis on which the manifestation of the abiding feeling of love depends; it is the rock-bed on which is based the development and unfoldment of the erotic sentiment.

This cause consists of a man or a woman, who is, as it were, the receptacle of the feeling of love. The classification of men or heroes with reference to this sentiment is four-fold; viz.,—

Dhiralalita—light-hearted;

Dhiraprasânta—calm and tranquil-minded;

Dhiraudâtta—exalted or noble-hearted, and

Dhirauddhata—vehement.

Each of them is of four varieties; viz.,—
Dakshina—clever, one who is kind to his sweetheart; Dhrista—deceitful, one shameless towards his previous love; Satha—wicked, one who hides his unfaithfulness; and Anukula—"one faithful to only a single lady-love."

The Dhiralalita hero is light-hearted but self-controlled. He is fond of the fine arts such as singing, dancing, music, etc., and is cheerful and gentle.

The Dhiraprasânta is a self-controlled and calm-minded hero who possesses the general qualifications of a hero.

Dhiraudâtta is a self-controlled, noble-hearted hero of great excellence, extremely serious, forbearing, unswaggering, firm-minded, unofficious, and resolute in purpose.

Dhirauddhata is a hero, who is vehement, full of pride, jealous, expert in magic practices, self-assertive, fickle-minded, swaggering and irascible.

The characteristics of an ideal hero are that he is well-bred, charming, liberal, clever, affable, popular, upright, etc.

Heroes have companions of several kinds to help them in love affairs.

The classification of women or heroines is threefold, viz., Swiyâ (swakiyâ) Parakiyâ, and Sâmanyâ, i.e., one's own wife, woman that is another's, and common woman.

The first kind of heroine is of good character, upright and possessed of similar qualities.

She is classified into Mugdhâ—inexperienced; Madhyâ—partly experienced; and Pragalbhâ—experienced.

Mugdhâ—the inexperienced wife—has the desire of new youth, is coy in love, and gentle in anger. [Plate III, fig. 1.]

A poet gives the following glowing description of a Mugdhâ:—

"Her eyes reflect the fidgetiness of a deer or a fish; her teeth pale, the lustre of pearls and diamonds, her lips are sweeter than all sweet things, such as grapes, sugarcane, Kabul melons put together; her forehead eclipses the light of a blazing torch; and her body appears suffused, as it were, with the rosiness of all roses, and is a reflection of the clearest of moonlight."

There are three aspects of the Mugdhâ heroine: Agnâtyovanâ—one who is unconscious of her youth; Gnâtyovanâ—one who is conscious of her youth; and Nabodhâ—(Plate I, fig. 2)—one who is afraid in her simplicity of nature to meet her lover alone. An example of the second type is thus given by a poet:—

"As the heroine became young, her upper part of the body began to develop and her waist to contract. She learnt to chew betel and to cast love smiles. Her interest in love matters grew and her language became cunning. Her movements became coquettish and she began to look slyly at her female companions and to secretly read love messages. She felt interested in trimming her hair and bestowing assiduous attentions on her toilet. Her limbs appeared to develop beautifully and her secret springs of love began to open."

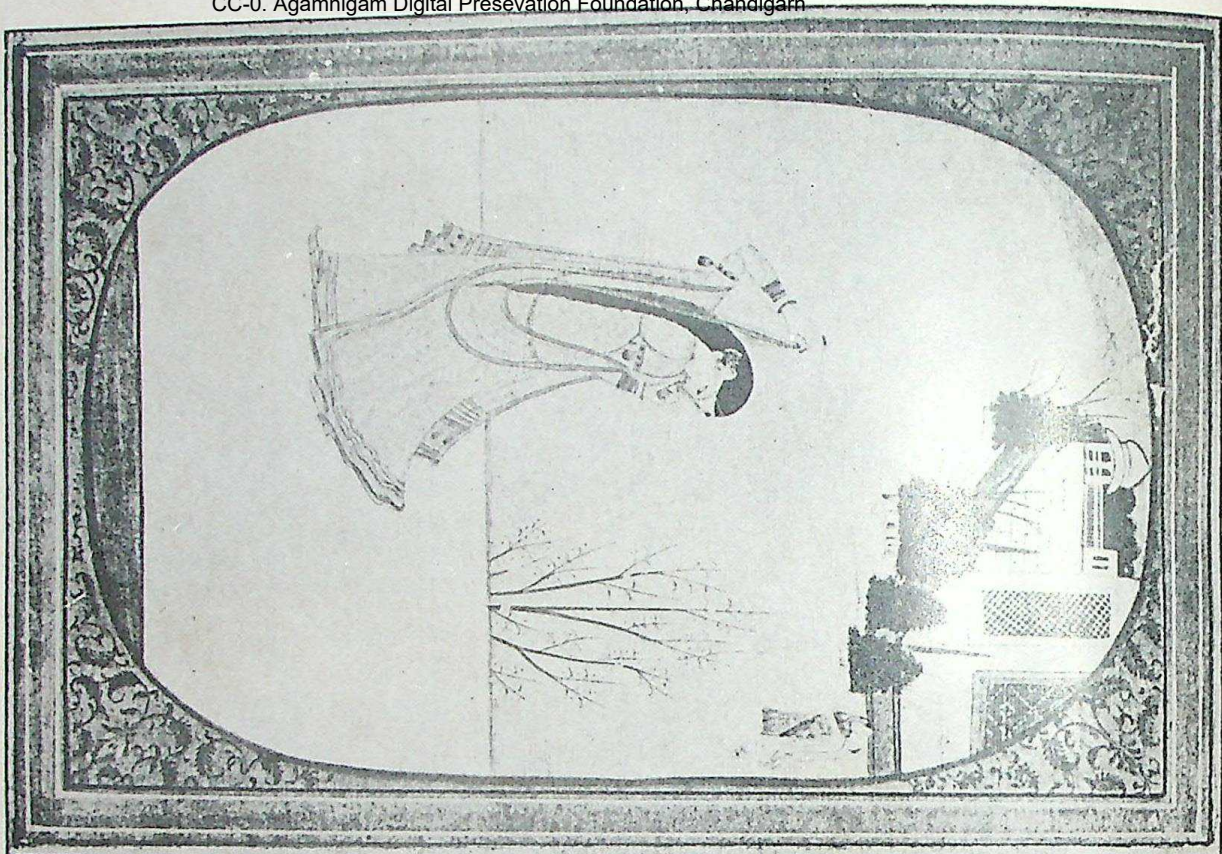
In some treatises on rhetorics such as Sâhityadarpana and others, Mugdhâ is divided into four varieties:—

1. Prathamâvatirnayouvana—one in whom youth has just set in;

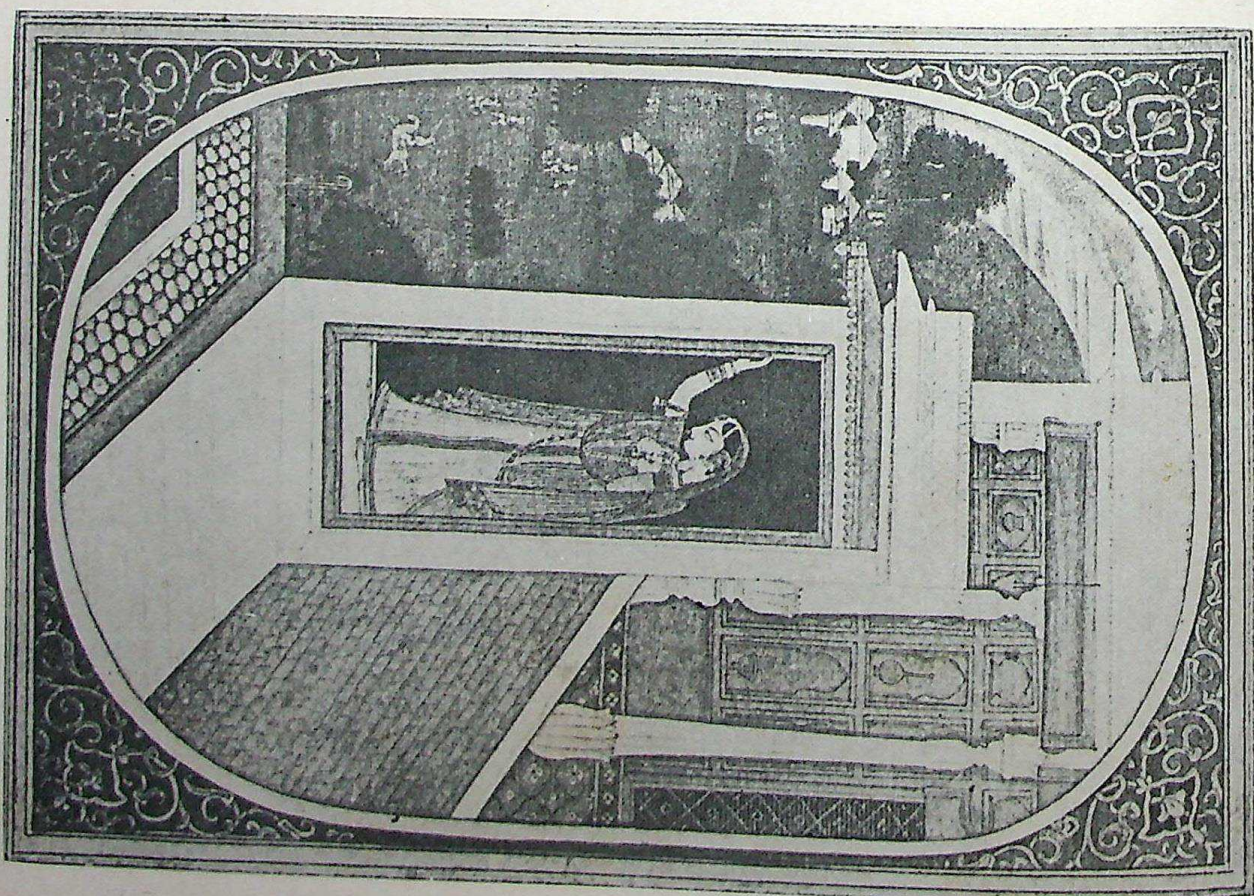
2. Mânaimridu—one who is sweet in her affected resentment;

3. Ratauvâmâ—delightful, though adopting adverse attitudes in love enjoyment; and

4. Madanavikâra—one in whom sensations of love have just begun to throb.



Mughdhā
Fig 1



Protiapatikā
Fig 2

The first of these appears to be equivalent to the Agnâtyonvanâ, the fourth to the Gnâtyovanâ, and the third to the Nabodhâ of the three aspects of Mugdhâ already specified.

The example of Ratauvâmâor Nabodhâ, as given in Sâhityadarpana, is this: "The lover says that his newly married beloved appears most pleasing to him by her contrary actions in love. She casts her eyes downwards when stared at, gives no answers when spoken to, shakes with trembling when touched, and tries to run away after her female companions when they leave her alone." The type is often painted by Kangra artists under the title of Nava-badhu-sangama, the meeting of the new wife. (Plate I, fig. 2.)

Madhyâ—the partly experienced wife—"has the love of rising youth and permits its indulgence to fainting."

She has been classified into:—

1. Prarudhasmarâ—one overmastered by love passions;
2. Prarudhayouvanâ—one overblossoming with youth;
3. Vichitrasuratâ—one versatile in love actions;
4. Ishatpragalbhavachanâ—one speaking a little encouraging words.

The example of Prarudhayouvana as given in Sâhityadarpana is:—Her eyes excel the beauty of a Khanjana bird; her hands rival lotuses; her upper limbs develop, outstripping all similarities; her loveliness reflect the beauty of a golden champaka; her speech excels nectar in sweetness, and the lustre of her glances throws into shade the beauty of a wreath of blue lotuses.

Each of these is divided into three sub-varieties:—Dhirâ—self-controlled; Adhirâ—not self-controlled; and Dhirâdhirâ—partly self-controlled.

Dhirâ—the self-controlled—"rebukes her erring husband in anger with sarcasm and indirect speech."

Adhirâ—the one lacking in self-control—"rebukes her husband in anger with harsh words."

Dhirâdhirâ—the partly self-controlled—"rebukes her husband in anger with tears."

The following illustrates the "Adhirâ" heroine addressing her lover:—

"You do not part with others, being so much devoted to them, but you trifle me away with words only. Having passed time with others, you come to console me now. While ever proving true to others, you never keep faith with me. While inclined to caress others, you fall on my feet only."

The word "others" implies co-wives who are sanctioned by religion and custom in India.

A Dhirâdhirâ's speech to her lover is thus put by a Hindi poet:—

"I offer in sacrifice all my body and soul and all that I have, in praise of your brave deed to-day." Then, just detecting a sign of broken faith on the person of her lover, her eyes began to rain tears, which fell on her cheek and then on her bosom. The tears were, as it were, big pearls poured out by fishes on the moon which passed them on as an offering to the head of Lord Shiva below."

Each of these three sub-varieties is further divided into Kanisthâ—the younger wife, and Jaisthâ—the older wife; or the less favourite and the more favourite wife.

The third kind of heroine is Pragalbhâ—the experienced one. She is blinded by youth, crazed with love, infatuated and clinging, as it were, to the body of her husband for joy, even at the beginning of love's pleasures.

She is classified into five varieties:—

1. Gâdhatârûnyâ—one who is fully ripe with youth;
2. Samastarakovidâ—one who is expert in love enjoyments;
3. Smarândhâ—one who is blinded with love; (Plate IV, fig. 1.)
4. Bhâvonnatâ—one who is excited with love feelings; and
5. Akranânâyaka—one who overrules her lover.

Each of these is subdivided into Dhirâ, Adhirâ, and Dhirâdhirâ, as Madhyâ, and then each subdivision is further divided into Kanisthâ and Jaisthâ as in the other case.

Parakiyâ is a woman who is another's. She is either a maiden (unmarried girl) or a married woman. She is of six varieties, two of which have three sub-varieties

and one, two ; but they need not be mentioned here, as the writers on rhetorics attach no great importance to this type of heroine, out of moral considerations. The author of *Dasarupa* says that "another's married woman should not figure in the principal sentiment but love for a maiden one may employ at will in connection with the principal or subordinate sentiment."

Samanya, a common woman, has the same varieties as the Parakiyâ, and they need not be repeated.

Rhetorical canons would not permit such a woman to appear in love with a hero, except in a farce. She should not figure in a drama concerned with a high-class hero in any way.

Just as heroes have companions to aid them in their love affairs, heroines have also their assistants for similar purposes. They are a maid-servant, a female friend, a working woman, a foster-sister, a neighbour, a female ascetic, a craftsman and such like.

Heroines have been classified from different points of view. Some of these classifications are the following :—

1. Classification of heroines with reference to their moods and relations with the heroes.

The classification from this standpoint is eight or tenfold, as *Prositapatikâ*, *Abhisarikâ* and others as already described.

2. Classification of heroines with reference to their dispositions, such as *Uttamâ* (Excellent), *Madhyamâ* (Middling), and *Adhamâ* (Bad).

3. Classification based on the moods of heroines arising from their self-conceit, haughtiness, and personal beauty, such as *Premgarvitâ*—one proud of her love; *Rupgarvitâ*—one proud of her beauty [Plate IV, fig. 2]; *Mânini*—one addicted to affected resentment.

4. Classification based on sex physiology, such as *Padmni* (the Lotus woman); *Chitrâni* (the Variegated woman); *Sankhini* (the Conch woman); and *Hastini* (the Elephant woman). They are in descending order of merit.

The classifications of heroes and heroines given in the Hindu works on *Dramaturgy* and *Erotic* are considered to be arti-

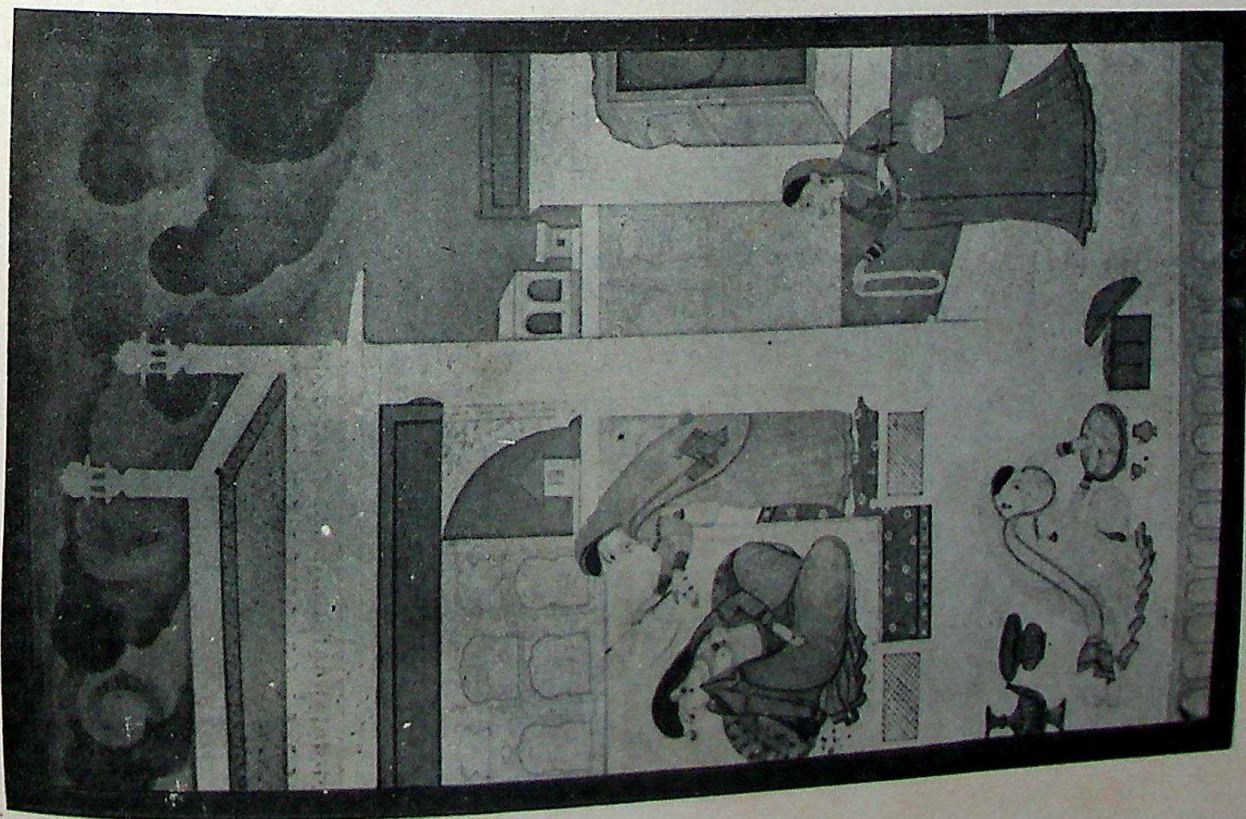
ficial and fanciful by some critics, but this criticism arises more from their lack of intimate knowledge of love psychology than from its minute study. The different moods, conditions, and relations of heroines which have given rise to these classifications are familiar incidents in the operation of the feeling of love. All great dramatists and poets, irrespective of caste, colour and clime, have portrayed them in their own way in connection with their heroes and heroines. Numerous passages can be quoted from their works to illustrate them. Professor P. Seshadri has given some passages to illustrate an eightfold classification of heroines in the July Number of the *Modern Review* (1920). In fact, if the dramas and poetical works of other countries—more especially of England—are studied in the light of the Hindu Science of Love, they would seem to unfold new beauties. Just as the science of Grammar has been evolved to regulate and check the aberrations of language, even so the science of love has been elaborated by the Hindus, after centuries of minute observation and deep study of love phenomena, to regulate, control, and dignify the composition of dramas, epics, and lyric poetry. The building up of such an erotic system is to the great credit of the Hindu genius. Those who have time and patience to study it can perceive its greatness.

Nor are these classifications based on mere poetic imagination—Eastern or Western. They have their basis on the rock-bed of sex psychology and are being confirmed by its new discoveries. It would be difficult for a man rising from a study of Havelock Ellis's *Sex Psychology*, to doubt the accuracy of these classifications and to acquiesce in the criticism of such a critic.

How valuable would a knowledge of the Hindu science of Love be to a modern novelist in evolving his heroes and heroines and depicting their different moods, conditions, and relations under the sway of the erotic sentiment, can only be imagined. He will find in it an unfailing source of inspiration for his work. The art of novel-writing will reach its climax of perfection, if aided by the canons of the Hindu rhetorics. Simply a suggestion has been thrown out ; and it is for the novelist to accept or



Rupagarvitā
Fig 2



Smarāndhā
Fig 1

to reject it. In accepting it, he infinitely heightens the charms of his art; and in rejecting it, he stands where he is.*

* Some of the Sanskrit and Vernacular works that may be consulted on the subject of this article are :—

1. Sāhitya Darpan of Vishwanath (translated by Ballantyne and Mitra, Calcutta, 1875).
2. Kāvya-prakasa of Mammata (translated by Dr. Ganganath Jha, Benares, 1898).
3. Kāvya-pradipa of Govind.
4. Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra.
5. Rasagangādhara of Jagannatha.

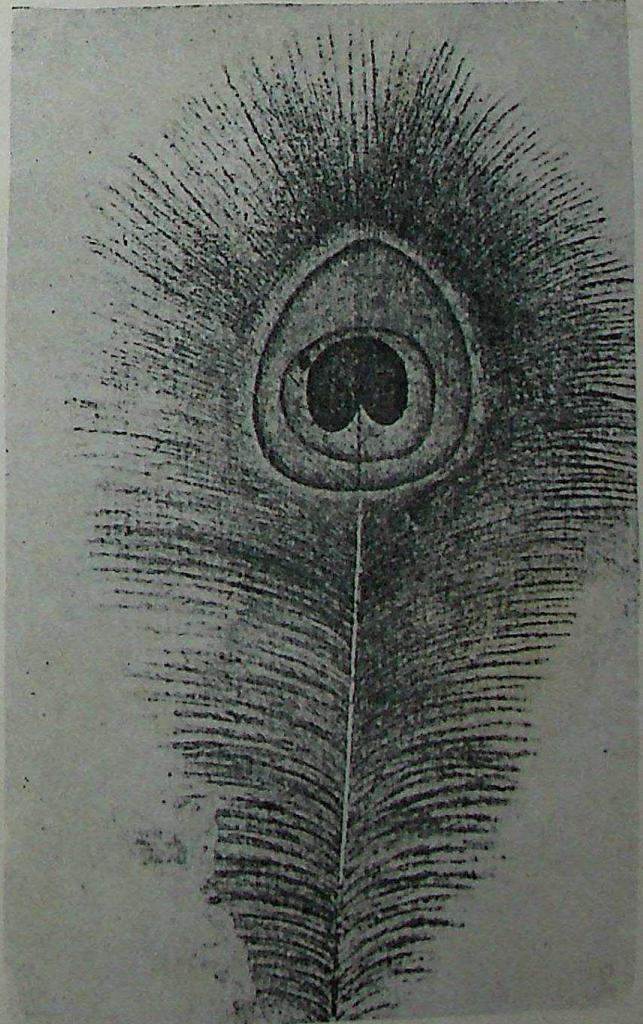
6. Rasatarangini of Bhānūdatta.
7. Rasamanjari of Bhānūdatta.
8. Sāhityakaumudi of Vidyābhusan.
9. Dasarupa of Dhananjaya (translated by Dr. Haas, 1912).
10. Kuvalayānanda of Dikshit.
11. Sāhityasar of Achuyatraya.
12. Kāmasūtras of Vātsāyan.
13. Rasākriya of Keshava Dasa.
14. Satsahi of Behari (Ed. Grierson, Calcutta, 1896).
15. Bhāsa bhusan of Jaswant Singh (Ed. Grierson, Calcutta, 1896).
16. Kāvya-priya of Keshava Dasa.

VIII.—A PEACOCK'S FEATHER.

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

A VERY delicate and realistic painting of a peacock's feather belongs to the Goloubew collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The classification of this piece as Rajput rather than Mughal is supported by an episode in the old Jain story of Naggai, which speaks of just such a painting executed on the floor of a palace "hall of paintings," with so much realism as to deceive the king. The latter, by name Jiyasattu, had handed over the hall to the guild of painters, assigning to each family an equal share of the work to be done. Kanayamanjari, the daughter of an old painter, by name Cittan-gaya, used to bring his meals to the hall; and while waiting one day, "to while away the time," she painted there in colours, on the paved floor, a peacock's feather, entirely true to nature. In the meanwhile, King Jiyasattu came to the hall of paintings. Looking at the paintings, he saw the peacock's feather on the paved floor, and thinking, "It is beautiful," he stretched out his hand to pick it up. He broke his nails, which were like pearl oyster shells. Abashed, he looked into space.* Incidentally, the story gives us a vivid picture of the social status of the painters: we hear of the guild of painters, and that there were many painters in each family; also that a knowledge of the hereditary art was not confined to the male members of the family. We see also that

the royal patron dealt rather with the guild than with individual artists: this is characteristic of mediæval Hindu culture, and may be contrasted with Akbar's patronage of individuals.



*Meyer, J. J., *Hindu Tales*, p. 175, (translation of Jacobi, H. *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mähārāshtri*), London 1909.

REVIEW.

A SUMMARY OF THE MANASARA.

A TREATISE ON ARCHITECTURE AND COGNATE SUBJECTS. ACADEMICAL THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOLOGY OF THE EAST INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN (HOLLAND) BY PRASANNA KUMAR ACHARYA, M.A. PUBLISHED BY E. J. BRILL, LD., LEIDEN, 1918.

AT the Oriental Congress held at Copenhagen, a resolution was adopted for the study and publication of the text of the technical literature of the Art and Craft in India, known as the Silpasastras. Since the publication of Ram Raja's Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus 1834, in which a few chapters of the Manasara were utilised, no adequate attempts had been made to present a complete or systematic survey of the Silpasastras. We have had, during the last few years, short glimpses into their contents, incidentally in connection with various works on Indian Art and Sculpture. Of these, Dr. Coomaraswamy's references and summaries of the Rupâvaliya Mâyamataya and the Sâriputta in his Mediaeval Sinhalese Art (chapters IV, V and VIII) deserve special mention. Gangoly's South Indian Bronzes for the first time published many new materials from the Silpasastras dealing with Sculpture and Iconography,—Sâraswatiya, Brâmhiya and Kâsyapiya. The late Mr. Gopinath Rao also published many new materials, with extracts from original texts principally from the Silparatna and Supra-vedâgama. In a recent publication on Indian Architecture, a series of articles on the Manasara is being published in a very uncritical form, so that we can not say that this branch of Indology has been neglected entirely. Nevertheless, a scholarly and a complete survey of the technical treatises on Indian Architecture, Painting and Sculpture is yet to come, and it was a happy idea on the part of Mr. Acharya to choose, as his thesis for the doctorate, the well-known technical treatise on Architecture, Manasara, of which various MSS. exist in this country as well as in Europe. The author's study appears to have been based on the MSS. in the India Office. Very few can realise the difficulty of this branch of Sanskrit study. The texts available in

mutilated MSS. are written in a language which Buhler justly called "the most barbarous Sanskrit." To this must be added the difficulty of interpreting the technical terms, many of which are very little understood even by the practical craftsmen of the present day. And the principal part of the author's task was to make a full dictionary of all the architectural terms used in the Manasara as well as in other Vâstusastras and cognate literature. The author claims to have accomplished this task to his own satisfaction. We have not as yet the complete work before us, and the pamphlet of 76 pages is only an earnest of his larger volume of the first edition and translation of the ancient text of the Manasara. A study of the Silpasastras, imperfect as it is up to the present time, has brought with it an amount of disappointment. It was at one time supposed that they contained a statement of æsthetic theories of the Indians. With a greater familiarity with their contents, we have learned that it is useless to expect from this body of literature still to be explored and studied, any statement of æsthetic doctrine. They are the repositories of various rules and canons of art and architecture and deal principally with the measurements and proportions apparently formulated by the Indian craftsman after centuries of practice. In their present forms they are not very old, and, as the author very cautiously suggests, so far as the Manasara is concerned, could not have reached its present shape later than 500 A. D., though it is not difficult to establish that they contain matters many of which are as old as the 2nd Century A. D. Though devoid of any information of the Philosophy of Art, the Silpasastras contain very valuable materials for the study of the history and classification of Architecture and Sculpture. Of these, the most important is the Manasara which is believed to have been reduced to writing in Southern India, and the architec-

tural data that it furnishes chiefly relate to the practices met with in Southern India. The term "Mānasāra" (*lit.*, the essence of measurement) from certain passages appears to indicate both the treatise of that name and its author.

Of the thesis which the author claims to have established, the following appears to be very important and significant to the History of Indian Art: (1) The construction of altars was apparently the beginning of religious architecture in India: the rules for the size and the shape of the various *vedis* are given in the Brahmanas long before they were embodied in the Kalpasutras, but the explanations of the manner in which the manifold measurements and transformations had to be managed are explicit in the Sulvasutras. (2) There seems to have been a relation of indebtedness between the Manasara on the one hand, and the architectural portions of the Agni Purana, Garuda Purana, Matsya Purana, Bhavishya Purana, the Kāmikāgama, the Suprabhedāgama and the Brihat Sanhita on the other. We have not any indication in the present pamphlet of the relationship of the Silpasastras to the cognate literature of the Puranas. Indeed, before we have an opportunity of examining the author's larger volume we must reserve our comments. In the meantime, we accord this interesting little pamphlet a hearty welcome as the earnest of a work of a very

valuable kind which should await the author and the growing body of readers interested in the subject. One very important data is furnished by the reference in the Manasara to the technical names Nagara, Dravida and Vesara, indicating the three styles of Indian Architecture which the author suggests are based on a geographical classification. A lot of controversy has been raised with regard to the distinction of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian styles of architecture. We require all the new materials that the author can offer to help us to realise, by means of canons of the Silpasastras, the character and the history of the North Indian style. It is generally believed that Manasara is a handbook of Indian architectural canons. It contains a lot of matters which treat of cognate subjects, e.g., sculptures, images, ornaments, etc. Thus, the first forty chapters deal with architecture. The remaining chapters are devoted to Images, e.g., the Trimurti, the Indian Triad, the Female Deities, the Jaina Images, the Buddhist Images of Sages, Yakshas, Vidhyādhars and of Devotees, the vehicles of the Gods, such as the goose, the garuda, the bull, and the lion. We have also chapters devoted to the casting of images (Madhu Chhishta-Vidhāna) by the well-known *cire-perdue* process which appears to have been current in India from a very early time.

NOTES.



OURSELVES.—This Journal, devoted to the study of Oriental Art, chiefly Indian, owes its existence to the patronage of generous friends and is published under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, the activity of which is too well-known to need recapitulation. "Rupam" claims to have broken new grounds in the field of Indian journalism, which, varied and versatile as it has been, had hitherto left an opening in the branch of the graphic arts. With the singular exception of a meagre and rather clumsy attempt, made a few years ago in Madras under the name of "A Magazine of Indian Art," this branch of journalism has been a field severely neglected in India. In some of the monthly reviews sporadic attempts have been made to deal with Indian Art, and in the pages of a local monthly a creditable and well-sustained effort has been made to keep alive, by frequent articles and continuous reproductions in colour, an interest in the study of Indian

Art, ancient and modern. Yet it has been felt, for a long time, that the growing interest in Indian Art, and the surprising discovery of its many varied phases, required space and more facilities for elaborate reproductions that were beyond the resources and capacities of journals devoted to varied forms of activity. Besides, the claims of Indian Art—and the rich and valuable æsthetic and spiritual assets that it represents (not only for India but for the whole world)—are much too great, and the demand for the preservation of its interests has been much too clamouring during recent years, to be left to the casual advocacy of busy editors charged with the duty of studying and helping the public to study other and equally important phases of the many-tangled problems of India to-day. Hitherto the study of Indian Art has been represented by a Quarterly published from England by Messrs. Griggs & Sons, Ltd., under the name of the "Journal of Indian Art and Industry." It has

been the representative of a very creditable endeavour, sustained for a very long time under the most adverse circumstances possible, particularly at a time when the position of Indian Art itself was cast in the shadow and the gloom of unrecognition and its claim to be regarded as one of the fine arts of the world had been repudiated with flat and persistent refusals. Yet, in the face of exceptional adversities, the publishers continued their labours with singular devotion and commendable energy. It specialised in the department of Indian industries and applied arts, and some of the articles published, from time to time, with expensive collotype and chromolithograph illustrations, are admirable monographs on the subjects dealt with. Its activity was, however, very little known to the public and it failed, for no fault of its own, to secure any portion of public interest, and, far less, of any patronage or support. Published under a subsidy from the India Office, its numbers found their way into Government shelves and official archives and very rarely into public libraries. With the growing interest in Indian Art, the Journal made some heroic efforts to attract public attention which it thoroughly deserved, but the war, alas! put an end to its useful activity and buried what had been an interesting career in an unoccupied, though a very important, field. In 1918 the "Journal of Indian Art and Industry" ceased publication, and its labour of devotion and sacrifice—for it never proved to be a profitable enterprise—came to an abrupt end. And Indian Art found itself in the singular position of being without any recognized organ of its own and it was faced with the catastrophe of being unrepresented before the public which has been ever reluctant to accord any appreciation to its claims. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the trenchant and somewhat caustic advocacy of recent critics and the agitation that they created had just succeeded in whipping up the curiosity of a public none too inclined to consider its merits. It has not yet passed the stages of controversy and disputes, but the angle of vision has somewhat changed and many people are prepared to know more about it, and to listen to its claims. In fact, a group of connoisseurs, particularly in Calcutta, had made the beginnings of important collections of Indian Art. It had roused active interest in connoisseurs and lovers of art; it had already achieved recognition in the art circles of Europe. It was just at this moment, when its help was very much needed, that the only Journal hitherto devoted to its cause came to an abrupt termination. Its place was clamouring to be filled. The Committee of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, its President and Secretaries, and its distinguished patron, took up the question and put their heads together and, with commendable energy, devised a scheme, and "Rupam" was born. It therefore makes its début at a very opportune moment. It no doubt comes to fill the gap left by its illustrious predecessor, but it is not called upon to follow in its footsteps, though it will greatly benefit by its examples and profit by its experience. The first number of "Rupam" was published at a very short notice and without much deliberation or elaborate

preparations, but, certainly, under conditions which the economic effects of the war had turned enemies to all publishing enterprises. But the difficulty which faced the editor was not so much the unfriendly conditions of publication, but the task of improvising a rôle and a scope for the Journal. It was obvious that "Rupam" could not take its ill-fated predecessor as its model. It was born under new auspices and conditions, and it is destined to chalk out a career of its own. Published under the auspices of the Society to which it owes its existence, it had some difficulty in resisting the temptation of formulating itself into an organ of that Society. If it chose that path, it could only degenerate into a "Bulletin" or "Transaction" of the Society, and would inevitably limit the possibilities of its larger scope and field. Despite the many illustrated books that have been published recently, only a fringe of the vast continent of Indian Art has yet been touched; many new discoveries are yet to come, and a thorough and a detailed survey of the many branches of Indian and Indonesian Art is yet awaiting students qualified for the task. The field is large and there is little chance of the subject being exhausted within a short time, having regard to the limited number of students interested in the subject. The contributions to the study of Indian Art by Indians themselves have yet to begin, for Indian Art still continues to be under deep and abiding debts of obligation to its foreign votaries who have honoured Indian Art with many fruitful studies, which will offer valuable assistance to all future students. Recently a group of Indian scholars have interested themselves in the history and the antiquities of their country, but their interest in the æsthetic quality of the old masterpieces of Indian Art is less than nothing. Too much has been written from the antiquarian and the archæological point of view, and we should like to invite contributions from scholars based on an intimate perception of the æsthetic qualities of the ancient monuments of India. The study of Indian archæology, as understood to mean a history of Indian Art, will undoubtedly claim the attention of "Rupam" from time to time. History of Art, in this country, very often pretends to be nothing but a disputation of chronology without any perception of the origins and development of the æsthetic ideals, or of the artistic valuation of the subject matter. "Rupam" shall, therefore, endeavour to keep clear of the pitfalls of dry archæological discussions unless such discussion should help to an intimate æsthetic understanding. If a monument is a fine work of art, it is immaterial if it can be dated before or after Christ. For, in the field of art, antiquity, as such, has no value or significance; yet we shall not despise the old masterpieces because they are old. It is equally futile to make a fetish of modern masterpieces as of old ones. Indeed, many of our friends have advised us to confine ourselves to modern and contemporary movements. We shall welcome the time when the growth of contemporary movements all over India will assume a creditable proportion demanding

constant attention and accurate chronicles. The older traditions of the country have yet to be picked up, studied and understood in their bearings to each other and in their relation to history. Tradition is, in some sense, the life of art, and in many cases the contemporary movement is but the latest development of ancient traditions. Yet "Rupam" shall not fail to take stock of modern movements and to endeavour to estimate their tendencies and inclinations. Though principally pre-occupied with the classics of old Indian Art, it shall now and then try to make friends with modern masterpieces. Both the past and the present achievements in Indian Art shall, therefore, claim its attention. The present is in the making and very much in the experimental stage and modern achievements are often liable to be discounted by the judgment of time, so that it is much safer to feel our way in company with works which have survived the test of time, rather than with pleasant upstarts with which time and the judgment of posterity have yet to play their havoc. In the numbers issued up to date "Rupam" has only been able to deal with works of the older school. In the next number it proposes to dedicate its columns to contemporary paintings. When "Rupam" first made its appearance, it made no promises and chalked out no definite programme. It is therefore in a position of advantage in this respect, as its efforts can be judged by its actual achievements unrelated to any promise or programme. Even now it is unable to formulate programmes or to take vows of definite achievements. It is easier to set forth its aims and objects. Can they be anything else but an endeavour to further the cause of Indian Art and to assist towards a popular, and, whenever possible, an intimate, understanding of its values and its ideals with reference to their achievements in the past and their significance to the future? It will more than justify its name if it can outline a fraction of the "Forms and Beauty" ("Rupam") in terms of which Indian thought and life have loved to express itself. In the realisation of its aims, "Rupam" deserves all the support that our contributors can give it. It has already made many friends and will, it is hoped, make many more. The critics in the Press have given it indulgent smiles, exaggerating its merits and ignoring its imperfections. Its merits, so far, have been very few, but its imperfections, alas! too many. If it can add to its merits and lessen its imperfections, it shall deserve all the kind tributes that the critics have heaped on its first endeavours. "Rupam" and its Editor are under deep obligations to its first contributors who have helped to make the first four numbers such success as has been possible to achieve within the limitations of time and materials. For the quality of the production, for which our friends have been unstinted in their eulogies, a very liberal share of credit is due to the printers, and to the process-engravers, who have spared no pains to help us in our endeavour to secure a standard of production worthy of the aims and objects of the Journal. For unavoidable delay in publication of some of the numbers, we are grateful for the kind indulgence of our readers and

subscribers. In the present conditions, it is almost impossible to promise punctual appearance, but we shall make special endeavours in the future to avoid the recurrence of delay which has taxed the patience of our readers and contributors.



OUR CONTEMPORARIES.—We are fortunate in possessing the fellowship of a new contemporary started in Calcutta under the somewhat disconcerting title, the "Indian Academy of Art," to which we offer our best and sincere good wishes. There is a longstanding prejudice amongst critics against what is known as "academic art," but we have no doubt that our contemporary will heroically resist the influence of an unhappy name. After all, the happiest names and titles are often but indifferent and inadequate covers for our actual achievements. Our contemporary will no doubt smile, shine, and thrive, like the proverbial rose, under the cover of any title. Our contemporary has given us promising earnest of an interesting career, and we have delighted to turn over, in the pages of the "Indian Academy," the profuse, yet interesting, colour reproductions after well-known local artists. Art had ceased to be a current coin in India for a long time past and we have every expectation that our contemporary will be untiring in its effort, to enlarge the circle which can take pleasure in the contemplation of works of art and display an active interest in the development of contemporary art and help it to acquire its legitimate place in our social and spiritual life.

To the list of English Journals of Art has been added a brightly produced new Quarterly published from January last under the title of "The Apple (of Beauty and Discord)." Along with literary contributions in prose and verse are given numerous reproductions printed in various tints, of drawings, lithographs, etchings and woodcuts. The examples chosen are of the most varied character and will appeal to all kinds of tastes and judgments. The policy of the Editors is "to entertain its readers with living literature and art collected from many gardens and occasionally from the ever-living, ever-fruitful orchards of the past. It is the hope of the Editors that the juxtaposition of harshly opposite types of mind will prove to be a more healthy diet of thought than the peptonised preparations of the daily, weekly and monthly press." In a very interesting note in the first number, Charles Mariott discusses, "Why should Art be the Apple of Discord?" "Art is a means of understanding in so far as it represents the whole man; it is a cause of discord in so far as it represents part of him—his taste, intelligence, ideas or opinions. What, in fact, makes art the apple of discord is not art itself, but the opinions it happens to reflect. Look through the illustrations to this number and you will see many opinions reflected; some you will agree with, more or less, and some you will not; but you will find one thing common to all the illustrations, and that is craftsmanship. It represents the whole man to the limit of his technical powers. It is the only thing in art that does represent the whole man. All the other

things represent only a part of him—his taste or his intelligence. All men agree in their hands, they differ in their eyes, but most of all they differ in their brains." We wish the new Journal a long and prosperous career.

The new Quarterly published by Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya under the name of "Shama'a" is a notable addition to Indian periodical literature. It is excellently produced and is destined to make its mark in the sphere of its activity. The purpose of the magazine is to study the trends of philosophic thought and artistic expression among the nations of the world and present them to its readers. The Editorial note proceeds to explain the scope of the Journal: "It will be our endeavour to study the thought of as many nations as possible and with this end in view we have called our magazine International. Our principal object will be to acquaint ourselves with the currents of modern thought, not because we are without reverence for the past, but because the past is valuable to us in so far as it lives in the present and will survive in the future. We belong to the new age and our interest lies in the new ways of thinking." Both the numbers contain colour frontispieces of which the most interesting is the "Rose Rhythm" by the well-known Post-impressionist painter J. D. Fergusson, which may help to correct the current misconception that realistic illusion is the aim of art. We congratulate Miss Chattopadhyaya on the success of her new Journal.



FRANCO-INDIAN SOCIETY.—From Paris comes the news of the establishment of a new Society having for its object to work for an intellectual and artistic rapprochement between the East and the West. The necessities of the war brought together people of diverse culture and nationality and threw many of the Eastern and Western races into a fortuitous, if somewhat obligatory, comradeship. The exigencies of war made France the happy meeting place of these diverse nationalities and in the hour of supreme need the differences of colour and languages had to be forgotten and were for the time being obliterated. It brought its inevitable lesson that the future progress of the world demands a greater unity of thought and culture between the East and the West than has been possible to secure in the past. "L'Association Francaise des Amis de L'Orient," will, it is hoped, work for an exchange of spiritual and intellectual culture between the Eastern and the Western countries. According to the printed manifesto issued by the Society, its object is to develop intellectual relations between France and the people of the Near and the Far East. For that purpose it shall proceed to make known in France, by means of meetings, publications, exhibitions, and conferences, the ideas, the literatures and the arts of the people of the Orient and of the Far East, and, conversely, it will work for the spread of French thought and culture in the East. It also promises to encourage, by all means within its powers, a knowledge of the languages and of the civilization of the East and the formation of Oriental collec-

tions in the museums and libraries. We have great pleasure in according our cordial good wishes for the success of the Society. We can only plead that a large share of the activity of the Society should be devoted to an intimate understanding of Indian culture, the value of which, from the international point of view, is likely to be overlooked by the inclusion of too large and wide an area by embracing the Far Eastern phases which have, according to our views, received an exaggerated share of attention in Europe and America. Corresponding to the Japan Society in London, Paris already boasts of "L'Société Franco-Japonaise" started as far back as 1902, and it has steadily worked to popularise the claims of Japanese culture in France. It would have been in the fitness of things to assume some such title as "Franco-Indian Society," the name originally proposed for it, so as to limit the activity of the Society to the study of Indian civilization, the claims of which have been systematically neglected by regarding it as a minor branch of Oriental culture. Some of the members, however, appear to be keenly alive to the obligation that a study of Indian phases should not be neglected, and we are glad to find that some of the first publications are being devoted to Indian subjects. Mll. Andrée Karpélès has illustrated a French version of the story of Nala and Damayanti which the Society has just published. The next publication is a translation of the well-known Buddhist work, "Bodhicharâyavatâra." The third volume is devoted to "Japanese No Dances" and will be illustrated by M. Jean Buhot, a very promising young artist. The Society begins its works under able auspices and has for its President M. Senart, and for Vice-Presidents, M. Sylvain Levi, Paul Pelliot and Albert Tirman. The secretaries are M. J. Hackin and M. Le Comte d'Aiguy (17 Quai Voltaire, Paris), with whom are associated M. Jean Buhot and Mll. Suzanne Karpélès. The office is temporarily situated at the Musée Guimet, Place de Lena, Paris XVie. The subscriptions are 500 francs for Donator Members, 25 francs for Associate Members, and 5 francs for Adherent Members.



A DUTCH SOCIETY.—It augurs well for the future of the study of Indonesian Art, to which the history of a portion of Indian Art is closely related, that a new Society has been inaugurated in Holland by a group of Dutch connoisseurs interested in the subject. The Society begins with the happy title of the "Friends of Asiatic Art" (Vereeniging Van Vrienden Der Aziatische Kunst), and it counts amongst its founders such distinguished names as Dr. N. J. Krom, formerly Chief of Archaeological Service of Java and now Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology of Java at the Leyden University, and Mr. T. B. Roorda, Conservator of the Ethnographic Museum of Leyden. It has for its Secretary a distinguished connoisseur of Eastern Arts, Mr. H. F. E. Visser, to whose courtesy we owe an able contribution in the present number of "Rupam." The head-

quarters of the Society is located at The Hague (Van Den Eyendestraat 9) and the subscriptions for membership are 25 and 10 florins. For the convenience of foreign members the Society is issuing all its publications and literature in the French as well as in the Dutch languages. The object of the Society, as announced in the prospectus, is to arouse and invoke interest in the Art of Asia and to work for the foundations of a study of the same. The Society will devote itself to the study of (1) the Art of the Far East (China, Japan and Corea) and of Tibet and Turkestan; (2) the artistic manifestations of the Aryan as also of the non-Aryan races of the Hindustan, Indo-China and of Siam and Java (Hindu Epoch); (3) the Art of Indonesia. The geographical area indicated in the programme represents, from the ethnographic point of view, an immense variety of phases the study of which is beyond the scope of the Society, which is more interested in studying the æsthetic unity of the countries which appears to be greater than the astonishing diversity of forms which at first sight appears to be quite imposing. The Society has already initiated its useful labours in the form of an interesting exhibition of Asiatic Art held at Amsterdam, on the basis of a loan-collection from the local museums as well as from the private collections of the promoters. It has issued an interesting Catalogue (pp. 110) in French and Dutch with twenty illustrations from the exhibits. A very illuminating account of this exhibition has appeared in the Burlington Magazine (October 1919) from the pen of Mr. Visser. The Society has since issued to its members an elaborate Souvenir of the exhibition in the form of a charming portfolio of reproductions representing the striking exhibits, in 24 carefully executed collotypes with descriptive letterpress, under the title of "Choix d'Objets d'Art d'Extreme Orient, conserves dans les Pays Bas." The interest of Indian students will carefully follow the activity of the Society in the branch of its study dealing with Indo-Javanese Art, and we shall be glad to hear of all co-operation and help that Indian students may be able to render to their Dutch friends in a field of common interest. To students of Indian Colonial Art in Java and Siam, the two distinct elements composing it have displayed interesting characters—one from India and the other from the local and indigenous traditions—which, in spite of a strong indianisation, have in many places preserved the integrity of their native character. In some decorative peculiarities of these indigenous traditions it has shown kinship with forms met with in the archaic monuments of America. The culture forms of the Indonesian Archipelago had an earlier history before they were absorbed and overpowered by Indian civilization. From the Indian point of view a detailed study of the monuments of Java and Bali and the other Sunda islands is likely to be fruitful of many new data for the elucidation of the history of Indian Art. We trust the Society will be able to help and encourage Indian students to recover from the Indo-Javanese monuments the missing pages of Indian Art. The Dutch Archæological service of Java has been able

to collect very valuable materials the proper presentation of which can only be secured with the co-operation of students familiar with the details of the art history of Bengal, Gaud and Kalinga.



THE PRO-JERUSALEM SOCIETY.—The situation in Palestine has imposed various responsibilities on the Imperial Government for which it hardly appears to have adequate resources. The Pro-Jerusalem Society founded in September 1918 has recently been incorporated under the Palestine Administration with the object of the preservation and advancement of the interests of Jerusalem, its districts and inhabitants, more specially (1) the protection of and the addition to the amenities of Jerusalem and its districts; (2) the provision and maintenance of parks, gardens and open spaces in Jerusalem and its districts; (3) the establishment in the district of Jerusalem of Museums, Libraries, Art Galleries, Exhibitions, Musical and Dramatic centres and other similar institutions; (4) the protection and preservation of the antiquities in the district of Jerusalem; (5) the encouragement in the district of Jerusalem of arts, handicrafts and industries in consonance with the general objects of the Society. It is supported by members representing all classes and interests and has for its presidents the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Herbert Samuel, Mr. Ronald Storrs, District Governor of Jerusalem, with Mr. C. R. Ashbee, Civic Adviser to the City, as Hon'y. Secretary. The annual subscription for membership is £ 5.



SOCIETY OF INDIAN ART, BENARES.—A career of useful labour and activity awaits the new Society of Indian Art, recently started at Benares under the title of "The Bhârât Kâlâ Parishad." It is undoubtedly one of the fruits of the awakening interest in the study of Indian Art. Having regard to the utter indifference and sinful neglect that Indian Art has met from the Indian educated public, we cannot have too many societies and institutions of this kind in the different parts of the country. There is a peculiar fitness of such a society in Benares from many points of view. Benares has been the home of more than one historical and time-honoured art industries of India, of which the most well-known are the brassware, the silk and brocade industries. It is not generally realised that the latter industry is almost in its last gasp and is about to be overtaken by the same fate as that of the shawl industry of Cashmere now comfortably laid in its coffin. The Benares Society would indeed achieve a triumph if it can devise means and ends to stop the swift decay of these local industries which are already on a rapid race to ruin. The problem is not a very easy one and involves the solution of many intricate economic riddles and many a conundrum in art-education. The art industries of the country, still surviving in many districts, constitute the most valuable economic assets of the country, and the Society will be justified in devoting

a portion of its energy in resuscitating and reviving these decaying industries. The objects of the Society are enumerated as follows :—(a) opening a school and studio for teaching Indian music, painting, sculpture and other Indian arts and crafts ; (b) establishing a gallery and a museum to contain Indian paintings by old and modern masters, illuminated manuscripts, statues and other objects of art ; (c) encouraging the study, practice and development of such arts by scholarship, etc.; (d) promoting public interest in such arts and securing for them their proper place in national life and culture. As regards the last-named object, the Society should have ample work to do in persuading the authorities of the Hindu University to abandon its boycott of the study of Indian Art, which is one of the highest spiritual assets of Hinduism, and also in advising the University in connection with various matters connected with the buildings. That such advices are sorely needed will be apparent from the abominable decorations now being carried out to one of the ceilings of the University buildings in progress. We are glad to find that Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Hindu University is the Vice-President of the Society and is associated in the Committee with Prof. P. Seshadri, Mr. Sri Prakasa and Prof. P. K. Telang, who will, no doubt, be able to guide the activities of the Society and help it in realising its laudable aims and objects. In Rai Krishnadas the Society is fortunate in possessing an energetic Secretary whose interest in Indian Art is deep and sincere. The Society will shortly issue a portfolio of pictures illustrating "Meghadutam," for which plates are under preparation. The Secretary is actively engaged on a scheme for the establishment of a museum of Indian Art at Benares, for which he is busy collecting exhibits. He has also issued a very stirring and convincing appeal for funds to acquire, if possible, the well-known Tagore collection of Indian pictures and statues. We hope the appeal will meet with generous response. The Society has already furnished proofs of a promising life of activity which demands the active support and sympathetic co-operation of the Indian educated public. The annual subscription for membership is Rs. 12 with an entrance fee of Rs. 5. The office of the Secretary is at Hastings House, Benares.



A LECTURESHIP IN INDIAN ART.—We have great pleasure in commending to readers of "Rupam" a laudable proposal made by the India Society, London, to open a fund for the endowment of a Lectureship in Indian Art. It is proposed to associate the Lectureship with the School of Oriental Studies founded in London in 1917. The School has at present no provision for the study of the arts of the East. As the circular issued by the India Society very pertinently points out : "Any programme of Oriental studies in which art found no place must, from the point of view of humane culture, lack one of its most vital and interesting features." The India Society will endeavour, so far as Indian Art is concerned, to supply this defect.

If the undertaking is successful, the Society shall have cut one entirely new channel of communication between what is finest, most sincere, and most humane in the spirit of England and of India. The circular asks the members of the Society and all friends of the cause for which it stands to help it with a will in this piece of pioneer work, assured that the definite and modest object the Society has before it in this appeal is one pregnant with great possibilities for the future good relations of East and West. The establishment of the Lectureship in question will call for a capital sum of about £4,500. The Society expresses the hope "that the recipients of the appeal will not only send some contribution, great or small, to the Fund, but will spread the knowledge of it among their friends and will use every effort to bring the undertaking rapidly to success." The appeal is issued under the signatures of the President, Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, and Lord Carmichael, Chairman of the Committee, and should meet with ready response. The appeal has certainly a very significant lesson for the Education authorities in India. While all possible steps are being taken to spread the knowledge of Indian Art in places outside India, very little, if any, effort at all seems to have been made in any of the existing educational institutions in India. Lectures on Indian Art have been delivered at the Universities of London, Harvard and Chicago, but none of the Indian Universities consider it worth their while to include a study of Indian Art within the scope of studies. And we shall welcome a definite scheme for the foundation of a Chair of Indian Art in some of the leading Indian Universities. Surely Indian Art has the best claim for a study in the land of its birth, particularly having regard to the fact that the graduates from the Indian Universities are sent out with a cultivated ignorance of the value of the artistic treasures of their own countries. The University of Calcutta has made some provision, however inadequate, for the study of the History of Indian Art, but its example has not been followed by any of the other Universities.



THE HINDU UNIVERSITY.—We consider that the burden of responsibility in a matter of this character lies particularly heavy on the new University founded at Benares. It starts with a clean slate and without the handicap of a set programme or vested interests and was founded avowedly with the object of studying and developing the best features of Hindu culture and civilization. The public is entitled to expect that the authorities of this new institution should take the earliest possible step in initiating a course of study in Indian Art in all its branches, so that the coming generation of students may grow up with some knowledge of their artistic heritage and in living touch with their cultural traditions. The University will fail in one of its vital obligations if it failed to make adequate provisions for such study which has been neglected, too long, already, with disastrous consequences which are evident in many spheres of life. One of the most deplorable results of this ignorance is

illustrated in the utter indifference and neglect with which the Indian public have regarded the continuous drain of the masterpieces of Indian Art from various centres of India. A steady stream of exodus of the artistic treasures of our country has flowed and is still flowing from India to England and other European countries. This is true not only of such easily portable objects as pictures, illuminated books and manuscripts, but also of various other *objets d'art*, such as metal images, pieces of ancient sculptures, fine old brasses and bronzes, many examples of which have gone out of India destined never to come back again. It is the growth of the idea of nationality and the education of individual responsibility in such matters, that can successfully cope with the drain of the artistic treasures of the country. The defect in our education in these matters is loudly crying for remedies. Instead of slavishly aping the pattern of other existing institutions, the Hindu University could have specialised in branches of knowledge not provided for in other centres. At a meeting held in Bombay on the 23rd June last, Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya is reported to have said that the course of study in the Hindu University is designed "to embrace all the subjects, from modern sciences to the study of the Vedas." Friends of Indian Art will indeed be grateful to the Pandit if he will make public the reasons for excluding the study of Indian Art from the new University.



THE TAGORE COLLECTION.—Facilities for the study of Indian Art are about to receive a fresh blow from the threatened transfer of the well-known collection of Indian paintings and metal figures owned by the Tagores of Calcutta. It is the richest and the most representative private collection of Indian Art to be seen under one roof in any part of India. To the average citizen of this premier city of the East, happily engrossed in its commercial pursuits, the existence of the collection is hardly known. Anyhow, the time appears to have come when the citizens of Calcutta should wake up if they wish to prevent the city losing one of its most valuable collections of art. The profiteering of recent years has added many names to the list of local millionaires, and, if their duties and obligations can be roused in such a worthy cause, there should not be any difficulty in raising the necessary funds for purchasing the collection for the citizens with a view to found a City Gallery of Indian Art very much like the Municipal Galleries existing in Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester and in many American cities. The Benares Society of Indian Art deserves credit for taking an initiative in connection with this matter, and we make no apology for quoting from the appeal which the Society is circulating amongst its members: "It is a matter of regret that Indians have displayed a characteristic apathy to this aspect of their national progress, and Indian Art has attracted more and more attention in Europe and America than in the land of its birth. It is perhaps not known to many members

that the most representative collection of Indian Art, under one roof, can be seen to-day not in any Indian city, but in Boston, U.S.A. In 1910 this very collection was offered to the Indian public free—on condition that a suitable building was erected, by subscription, in some central place, to house the collection. The Indian public failed to respond to the call of its obligation and the collection went to America. It is needless for the Parishad to impress on its members and, through them, on their friends, that attempts should be made to save the country from the loss which would be irreparable, if the Tagore collection is allowed to share the same fate as its predecessor which now rests in the Boston Museum. The price fixed for the transfer of the collection is only Rupees Four Lakhs and, considering the unique and invaluable nature of the collection, it should not be difficult to gather funds to preserve it for the nation. It is undoubtedly a very valuable opportunity for the generous members and friends of the Parishad to help it to secure the collection for its Museum and Art Gallery. It is sincerely hoped that some kind and generous patron, whose name shall be attached to the gift, will rise to the occasion and purchase the collection for the Parishad, and thus save the repetition of the national loss which the country has already suffered by the transfer of the collection now in the Boston Museum. The Parishad will gratefully appreciate an immediate response to its appeal, as no time can be lost if the collection is to be secured for the nation. The undersigned will be glad to hear from its members and patrons and to consider any suggestion with regard to this appeal." In a country which boasts of such munificent donors as Sir T. Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghosh, the appeal should not go in vain.



A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHA-BHARATA.—The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has undertaken the publication of a new and critical edition of the Mahābhārata under the patronage of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant, B.A., Chief of Aundh. It is a worthy project and worthy of the eminent scholars associated with the Institute. In the illustrated little prospectus issued by the Institute, the necessity of a new edition and the materials to be used for the same have been adequately explained. From the programme outlined in the prospectus, it is obvious that it is a stupendous task which will keep busy quite a group of scholars for many years to come. It is not for us to offer any suggestions with regard to the literary and critical part of the work. We are more interested in the promise made in the prospectus of providing a series of 200 coloured illustrations to accompany the text. To quote from the prospectus: "An equally important and distinguishing feature of this new edition will be the full-size illustrations that will be inserted in the body of the text. These illustrations will be in colour and will in a way reproduce the epic story in pictures. The details and the general get-up of each illustration would be thoroughly Indian, and an attempt will be made to reproduce those facts

only as can be historically proved to have been current in India in ancient times. If the purpose of such representations is to visualise the ancient times, it is necessary that the costumes and manners, etc., of that period should be faithfully reproduced so far as possible; and though the epic incidents are to be regarded as belonging to a pre-historic period of Indian history from which no monuments or authenticated literary notice have come down to us, still that is no reason why the heroes of the epic should be made to wear the costume and generally move in an atmosphere of our times rather than of the third or fourth century B. C. which, as all would admit, is nearer in spirit and in essence to the original ancient times with which we have to deal. The specimen illustration that accompanies this prospectus will give an idea of the pictures to be given along with the edition." The hopes raised by the rosy promises unfortunately pale into disappointment on an inspection of the "specimen" referred to. The Indian myths and legends, it is true, are still awaiting their Blake and Burne-Jones. But we venture to suggest that it is not impossible to find among contemporary talents more than one Indian artist gifted with the requisite imaginative mind capable of producing in colour and form an adequate picturisation of the scenes, atmosphere, and the life of the Indian Sagas. Any true and successful rendering of Indian mythical subjects must follow the path of symbolism and suggestion rather than of realism or naturalism. The fallacy of naturalism or realism in mythical subjects have been again and again demonstrated in the futile attempts of Poynter and Tadema, and the imaginative methods of design that Sir Edward Burne-Jones employed successfully suggested the mystical, archaic and spiritual character of the mythical subjects. No amount of historical or archaeological details can help us to picture the helmet of Perseus, or the chariot of Arjuna. In India particularly, the

archaeological relics do not go behind the 3rd or 4th century B. C., so that, if the artist uses the materials of archaeology, he will be guilty of an anachronism of pulling down the age and the atmosphere of the Mahâbhârata to the times of Asoka. The materials for a mystic dream-land can hardly be gathered from a studio or museum; they have to be forged in the imaginative workshop of the brain of the artist. Similarly, the character of the idealistic types of heroes and heroines of the Mahâbhârata cannot be deduced from any living model; the type has to be invented by the artist independent of any model, regard being had to the peculiarities of the types as suggested in the text. The frescoes of the Ajanta caves may offer useful suggestions in the way of types and atmosphere, but the illustrator must supply most of the "properties" and "make-up" from the stock of his own imagination. The details of ornaments and dresses may be usefully borrowed from Hindu and Buddhist images, but even here the artist has to make a wise selection in order to procure a sense of distance from the actuality of later times which are "visible" in many of our old monuments. The false logic of naturalism has no place in a scheme of illustration charged with depicting landscapes that were never "seen" and with picturing events which never did "happen." The modern artists of Western India appear to be yet under the spell of the bad examples of Ravi Varma. They may profit by the lessons various modern European illustrators of myths and legends have recently set. We can particularly recommend a study of the works of Arthur Rackham and the illustrations of E. R. Herman to the "Fables" of R. L. Stevenson. We hope the Editors will take adequate steps to procure suitable illustrations to such an important work or refer the selection of pictures to an expert committee. In matters of this kind he who pays the piper is not necessarily entitled to call for the tune.

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